Voicing Modernism: Talk, Technology, and Aesthetics

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ABSTRACT

This project traces how modernists in the verbal and visual arts engage with embodied voice and its technological mediation. Through attention to theorists such as Kaja Silverman, Stanley Cavell, Mladen Dolar, and Bruno Latour, as well as through extensive archival research, I show how works of both British and American modernism from the 1920s to the early 1940s interrogate the political and aesthetic significance of the voice in modernity. Scholars such as Sara Danius and Douglas Kahn have provided compelling accounts of sound in modernity and modernism. Critical attention specifically to voice within the modern soundscape, however, has remained scant. Voice proves an elusive topic because even while blurring divisions between exterior and interior, subject and object, and mind and body in meaningful ways, it also proves resistant to the work of unsettling binaries such as human/nonhuman, phone/logos, and presence/absence. I demonstrate how modernist writers and filmmakers experiment with the shifting status of voice across media and genres as they explore concerns made urgent in the epoch of world war: technology's purchase upon embodied experience, the gendered ramifications of this experience, and the troubled link between politics and aesthetics.

This focus on voice in modernism allows me to link seemingly disparate artistic moments. My first chapter reads the filmmaker Dorothy Arzner's meditations on gendered voice in her silent and sound films, situating her Hollywood career within modernist and feminist discourses about gender and filmic voice. The second chapter explores James Joyce's specific encounters with sound film theory and practice and their significance for his cinematic understanding of *Ulysses* in the 1930s as well as his

approach to voice in *Finnegans Wake* (1939). In my final chapter, I turn to Virginia Woolf's attempt in her final novel, *Between the Acts* (1941), to conjoin human, animal, and machine sounds into a choral voice whose unison resists fascist conformity. By forging dialogues among modernist scholarship, sound studies, archival research, and theoretical work, I uncover modernism's attempt to rework the conceptual boundaries of voice. My coda begins to consider how we might draw upon modernism's simultaneously aesthetic and political work on voice as we grapple with notions of the posthuman.

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Introduction

This project traces how American, Irish, and British modernists in the verbal and visual arts engage with the phenomenon of embodied voice and its technological mediation. Representations of embodied voice and the synchronization of voice with visual presence have been neglected within, even excluded from, studies of modernist aesthetics. In many ways, representations and practices of embodied voice are what modernism has been traditionally understood as forming itself against: naturalism, theatricality, self-explaining presence, and an emphasis on classical unity as opposed to fragmentation. I argue, however, that the speaking body becomes central to aesthetic and political issues in modernism, especially starting in the late 1920s as technologies of voice merge with visual technologies in the shift from silent to sound film.

Douglas Kahn wrote in 1999 that "Modernism has been read and looked at in detail but rarely heard" (4). Since then, a range of scholars has provided compelling accounts of sound in modernity and modernism.[1] The "new sound studies" has opened up the study of sound in a variety of disciplines, including literary studies, cultural studies, and the history of technology and science. The past few years have seen two major anthologies of critical work in sound studies.[2] But sustained studies of the relationship between sound and writing are still few. As Adelaide Morris explains, "critics with a keen ear tend not to turn to literature" but to music studies and technology studies, and "most contemporary media critics tend to look rather than listen" (4). The "interplay between textuality and twentieth-century acoustic technologies remains largely undocumented and undertheorized," she argues, for additional reasons as well, including

the lack of affordable daily recording technologies prior to the 1950s and, even since then, how "sound events remain difficult to archive and all but impossible to transcribe on the page" (4-5).

Critical attention specifically to voice within the modern soundscape has been limited largely to accounts of radio's influence and avant-garde resistance to synchronized talkie films.[3] My project does not overlook the reasons behind this silence; on the contrary, I contend that modernism's varied engagement with voice should be examined precisely because of the theoretical difficulties involved. Voice proves an elusive topic because even while blurring divisions between exterior and interior, subject and object, and mind and body in meaningful ways, it also proves resistant to the work of unsettling binaries such as human/nonhuman, phone/logos, and presence/absence. This project demonstrates how modernist writers and filmmakers experiment with the shifting status of voice in strategically disruptive episodes across media and genres. By testing the conceptual limits of voice, these experiments recast concerns made ever more urgent in the epoch of world war: technology's purchase upon embodied experience, the gendered ramifications of this experience, and the troubled link between politics and aesthetics.

Given the dearth of work on audible voice in modernism, a wide-ranging study could easily become amorphous. I limit the scope of my inquiry conceptually and temporally in a few crucial ways. I am interested in vocality not as pure sound but in its relationship to the sensorium as well as to visual and written representations of embodiment. For this reason, the chronological focus of my study begins in the late 1920s, with the start of sound film. The beginning of World War II serves as a

provisional endpoint, but I hope that the project opens onto ways of rethinking the jarring reconfiguration of the body, sound, and technology effected by the war.

The period of early-twentieth century modernism experienced what Sara Danius calls a "historically specific crisis of the senses" (3). The development of technologies of perception in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries divided visuality from aurality—consider photography, silent moving film, the telephone, and the phonograph, among others. The sensorial divide arguably influenced modernist perception and aesthetics by disconnecting sight and sound. For instance, Danius writes that silent cinema, "like photography a half century earlier, helped introduce a new optical space and reinforce a perceptual division of labor" (148), a division that apportions most of the work to sight. Discrete visuality highlights sound's absence and thus engenders the possibility of sound "in its pure and abstract form" (149). In other words, in the silent film era, viewers of moving cinema perceptually attend to its lack of diegetic sound and thereby begin to conceptualize sound as an entity detached from a visible source. This process dovetailed with technologies for "transmitting and reproducing acoustic data, such as the phonograph and the telephone," thus "overdetermin[ing]" the "notion of pure and abstract sound that emerges in the historical period" (149).

The technological cohesion of visuality and aurality promised by sound film beginning in 1928 and television broadcasting in the early 1930s, however, complicate further the modernist sensorium. The idea of sight and sound working in concert more than in opposition has tended to be resisted as anti-art—during the modernist era and in later scholarly attempts to classify and periodize modernism. This resistance is illustrated

most clearly, of course, in relation to film. The form of classical Hollywood talkies, which took definitive shape by the early 1930s and attempted "to project a continuous world in time and space," has often been understood in studies of film and modernity to have "tapped into traditional—that is, premodern, modes of representation in a rearguard effort to deny or contain modernity" in all of its perceptual fragmentation and representational uncertainty" (Rothman 316). There were also issues of the international circulation of film—silent films crossed language barriers much more easily. Much of the academic work on cinema's relationship to modernism writ large has focused on avant-garde and silent film, making connections between sound film and modernism less apparent. Sound film is always on the horizon, or just starting to be heard, but sound film ventures beyond the early years of the transition from silent film to the talkies have only started to be considered within the scope of modernism.[4]

As I will explore in my first two chapters, many avant-garde writers and filmmakers in the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s conceptualized film art in opposition to the talkies, for a host of sociopolitical and well as aesthetic reasons. The first chapter examines a strongly gendered resistance to vocalization in film on the part of H. D. and Dorothy Richardson. Although the relationship between voice and gender does not structure the argument of each chapter, the topic is significant for the project as a whole. As Danius notes, "[t]he relation of gender and technology in literary modernism is a crucial yet strangely undertheorized topic, one that will no doubt change our understanding of the modernist project" (11). The connection of sensory experience to the body—however distanced and displaced by technological mediation and mass culture

reproduction—opens onto the operative concepts of gender difference in the early twentieth century. Chapter one examines how Hollywood director Dorothy Arzner experiments with embodied voice within the context of contemporaneous gendered arguments about silent film versus the talkies. The third chapter, which examines Virginia Woolf's portrayal of embodied human and nonhuman voice in *Between the Acts* (1941), resumes this line of enquiry concerning the variety of ways in which early twentieth-century women authors (and an auteur) negotiated the technologically mediated separation of the senses. Attention to both Arzner and Woolf suggests how hearing the modernist voice necessitates heeding the gendered logics of modernism.

Douglas Kahn explains how his *Noise, Water, Meat* project, which studies voice in twentieth-century art, has an "imbalance weighted on the side of Euro-American males" by indicating that women, for the most part, were not involved with sound in art until the latter half of the twentieth century, a span of time into which his book only makes "scattered forays" (13):

> The rhetorical uses of women in terms of immersion, noise, noise abatement, and other instances are examined, but the major historical participation of female artists in their own right begins just after the timeframe of the book. While there are still fruitful studies to be made of female artists in the heart of modernism . . . practicalities of time and resources have prevented me from attending to them. (13-14)

What I hope to begin to accomplish with this project is the establishment of women artists, thinkers, and writers as central to the study of modernist sound and voice. Their

concerns intersect with and extend areas of inquiry beyond the scope of gender, such as the aesthetic reception of sound film and the possibility of nonhuman voice reconstituting notions of the social.

Considerations of the gender politics involved in technology and the modernist sensorium extend to analysis of the voice's role in national and colonial politics. Drawing upon Michael North's argument that the avant-garde's resistance to sound film is rooted in a fear of foreign and racial otherness, I consider in my second chapter the attempt to adapt *Ulysses* into a talkie screenplay intended for Hollywood production. Although this project was ultimately abortive, I show that the attempted shuttling between the novel and the film reveals much about Joyce's modernist and postcolonial approach to embodied, and specifically vernacular, voice. The concern for politics at the national register pervades not only this second chapter but also my project as a whole. Both the focus on technology and the periodization underscores how the voice became a locus of cultural and political concerns made ever more pressing by the developments between two world wars. The culminating chapter on Woolf reveals how questions about voices are integrated into questions concerning national cohesion and community.

Such linked concerns about voice and gender allow me to approach urgent political concerns through debates that may seem primarily about form and genre. Threaded throughout this project is an attempt to reconsider theorizations of what it means to incorporate aurality into our textual and visual encounters with modernist work. I thus follow Kahn, who specifies that his project is "not constituted in opposition to the visual image" (3). He explains, "Blind hearing, even for the blind, is a difficult

proposition to sustain in a society that so thoroughly internalizes vision into every other aspect of its being and in other ways integrates aspects of the sensorium with one another" (4). Modernist scholarship, however, has tended to resist a focus on seemingly synchronous audio-visual experience in which sight and sound converge more than diverge. Theater and the theatrical, for instance, arguably have been marginalized in modernist aesthetics insofar as live vocal actors and perceptions of naturalism adhere to understandings of drama. Martin Puchner traces in modernist literary form a distinct and structuring anti-theatricalism. Sound film was often disparaged on ground of being "photographed performances of a theatrical sort" (Eisenstein "A Statement" 258). In *Close Up: A Quarterly Devoted to the Art of Films* (1927-1933), writers such as H. D., Bryher, S. M. Eisenstein, and Kenneth Macpherson theorize resistance to the integration of film's visual capabilities with technologies of voice, often through comparisons between vocal stage drama and the talkies.

Yet Classical Hollywood film fits within a notion of modernism that includes what Miriam Hansen has described as "a whole range of cultural and artistic practices that register, respond to, and reflect upon processes of modernization and the experience of modernity, including a paradigmatic transformation of the conditions under which art is produced, transmitted, and consumed" (333). Hansen complicates the opposition between Hollywood and avant-garde film and argues for a more capacious understanding of classical Hollywood cinema and its global circulation and reception. She claims classical cinema as "vernacular modernism," a formulation attentive to filmic issues of speech and transnational circulation. But while the talkies are clearly intimated by

Hansen's designation of vernacular modernism and by her conclusion that "Hollywood did not just circulate images and sounds; it produced and globalized a new sensorium" (344), filmic speech's entrance into and role in this sensorium is not an explicit focus of her article. Hansen leaves largely unexplored the specifics of the production and globalization of this "new sensorium." My project aims not only to expand upon understandings about the reasons for modernist resistance to audio-visual synchronization but also to pose filmic and literary constructions of technologically mediated, embodied voice as complex and nuanced rather than simply naturalistic or suggesting uncomplicated presence.

Kahn, as do many sound theorists, categorizes voice as a type of sound. While this makes sense for broad explorations of sound, my concluding chapter on nonhuman voice engages and interrogates the conceptual space between sound and voice. Mladen Dolar, one of the few theorists to focus on a sustained way on the voice, sums it up as "the most human of effects, an effect of 'interiority,'" even when produced by a machine (10). Voice signifies interiority, subjectivity, a mind whose workings might be expressed aloud. Voice also signifies presence, although it is worth noting that the charge of "presence," or what Andrew Gibson calls "fullness" (652), tends to be made only when technological vocality coheres with photographic or cinematic visuality. An extended project on voice in modernist film and literature must contend at some point with what Garrett Stewart deems the poststructuralist "shibboleths of voice as presence" (248). Stewart, in his work on what he calls "phonotext," works against the "marginalization of the audible in Western text culture" (19), tracing in literature from Shakespeare through

Virginia Woolf how texts engage with aural reading practices. In his chapter on Joyce specifically, Stewart reads two versions of Derrida—the deconstructionist theorist and "the pragmatist of free association" (246)—against each other in order to insist upon a complicated and nuanced relationship between vocality and the text that does not fit neatly into a division between logos and phone. At the sonic level, Kahn troubles the notion of voice as connoting a unified, knowable presence. He points out how "the presence produced by the voice will always entail a degree of delusion," due to the disparity between hearing's one's voice within the body "as it is conducted from the throat and mouth through bone to the inner regions of the ear" and others hearing voice in "the air within which the voice's vibrations dissipate" (7).

Andrew Gibson has grappled at length with the tension in narrative theory between narrative voice as metaphor and narrative voice as indicating some kind of authentic presence—essence in some theoretical formulations, embodied materiality in others. He concludes, "Whether it be 'heard' in a written or printed text or as part of a soundtrack, what the humanities most commonly call voice has already become part of a technology and a system of communication or representation" ("Wind Wheezing" 655). While I do not simply disagree with such claims, I would like to call attention to his constrained modernist archive in relation to the topic of vocality. His theoretical review is bookended, at the start, by a reading of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in which Stephen's choice of silence represents a modernist mode of writing and, at the end, by a discussion of *Sunset Boulevard,* in which the transition to sound film is registered horrifically on its central female character. Partly because Gibson's examples are

selectively chosen to advance his theoretical discussion, he can only advance a speculative set of propositions concerning the technological mediation of the sensorium. How his claims would work in relation to a more capacious archive of modernist works remains opaque, and Gibson specifically invokes "the irreducibly ambivalent status of narrative voice"—an ambivalence that he cannot fully elucidate (655).

In studying an era of rapidly changing technologies of representation, I have listened to literal voices and found their echoes and traces in a number of archives—in Los Angeles, Texas, Washington DC, London, and Dublin. Archival recovery has made my project possible both at practical and conceptual levels. As with any archive-heavy project, the topic of material cultural loss is ever apparent. Many aspects of cultural and literary lives in the early twentieth century are unrecoverable in a historical materialist sense. As Walter Benjamin reminds us in segment 3 of his "Theses on the Philosophy of History": "only a redeemed mankind receives the fullness of its past—which is to say, only for a redeemed mankind has its past become citable in all its moments" (254). The feeling of loss associated with what had materially existed but now is gone or largely inaccessible is amplified when the topic at hand is voice. This project aims to model how archival recovery can lead to theoretical refiguring. How we understand modernism(s) and modernity is defined by the archives that exist and, at an institutional level, by the texts that we and our students can access. In "Found and Lost: The Politics of Modernist Recovery," Jane Garrity explores how "in many ways the recovery of women's cultural work is less commercially viable today than it was twenty years ago" and argues that "further recovery" is needed (808, 809).

***Machinal* and Modernist Voice**

As an example of my approaches to archival reconsideration and reading across media in this study, I offer a brief examination of Sophie Treadwell's *Machinal* (1928), an American stage drama written months after the first talkie film. I argue that the expressionist drama meditates on the human voice in a mechanized world in a way that responds to the artistic and cultural mandates of what Martin Puchner has called an anti-theatrical modernism.

Machinal is based largely on two related spectacles in New York City from 1927-1928, one utilizing technologies of voice and the other soundless. The first is the trial of Ruth Snyder and her lover Judd Gray for the murder of Snyder's husband, Albert. Attended by over 1500 people, including the filmmaker D. W. Griffith, the novelist Fannie Hurst, and the philosopher Will Durant, the Snyder and Gray trial marked the advent of using microphones and speakers in the courtroom, allowing masses of spectators to hear the testimonies. The second spectacle was the extensive, daily coverage of the case in written and photographic form by New York tabloids and newspapers for almost a year, up through the convictions and executions of Snyder and Gray. Around 180 reporters were assigned to the story, for publications from the *New York Times* to daily tabloids like the *New York Daily News*, the *New York Daily Mirror*, and the *Evening Journal* (Jones 486).[5]

Treadwell, a journalist as well as a playwright, had attended the trial and would have been familiar with the hard-to-miss tabloid and newspaper coverage. *Machinal*, French for automatic or mechanical, follows a character identified as "Young Woman"

through nine episodes that fictionalize the story of Ruth Snyder's extramarital affair, trial for the murder of her husband, and execution. Despite *Machinal*'s expressionist form and its focus on voice in an increasingly technologized world, the multiple resonances of voice within and surrounding the play have not been paid extended attention.[6] The drama explores modern voice in at least a few different registers, including voice's erasure within forms of photographic and print journalism and the mediation and recontextualization of voice by modern aural technologies.

The Ruth Snyder case was adapted into many different narrative forms from the late 1920s to mid-century, including *Machinal* in 1928, the James M. Cain noir novels *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1934) and *Double Indemnity* (1943), as well as Billy Wilder's film adaptation of *Double Indemnity* in 1944. V. Penelope Pelizzon and Nancy M. West have argued convincingly that the New York tabloids "functioned . . . as what we might call 'adaptation-ready' sites" for sensational stories in the 1920s (212), using the Snyder-Gray case and particularly its novel and film adaptations as a test case. They write:

> All three papers [the *Daily News*, the *Daily Mirror*, and the *Evening Graphic*] were constantly deconstructing, reconstructing, and multiplying narrative tropes and images. And while this observation is true of tabloid media in general, one key distinguishing feature of the New York newspapers is that they constantly gestured toward Broadway theater, hard-boiled literature, and Hollywood in their textual operations, as if announcing that their coverage of the Snyder-Gray case not only

> resembled the entertainment value of these other media, but more importantly, stood as ready source material for them. (214)

But dramatic and filmic vocality, as well as specifics about *Machinal* beyond the fact of its existence, are beyond the scope of Pelizzon and West's article, which focuses primarily on Cain's novelistic adaptations.

Treadwell's play reacts against the tabloid coverage as opposed to integrating its forms and narrative approaches into her theatrical adaptation of the case. As Jennifer Jones notes, the characters in this story "were easily recognizable—The Wife, The Lover, The Cuckold" (487), and writers covering the case were quick to make it fit known "stock scenarios." The writer Damon Runyon, for example, described the lovers as "a chilling looking blonde with frosty eyes and one of those marble, you-bet-you-will chins, and an inert, scaredrunk fellow that you couldn't miss among any hundred men as a dead setup for a blonde, or the shell game, or maybe a gold brick." Pelizzon and West explain how familiar audience became with visual images of Snyder and Gray: "Arguably, no other criminal event up to 1927 generated as many photographs and other visual imagery as the Snyder case. By our count, the *Daily Mirror* published at least 107 photographs and 55 illustrations in conjunction with it, while the *Daily News* printed at least 182 photos and illustrations combined" (218). Pelizzon and Gray show how these images were mediated within the tabloid pages in order to emphasize narrative elements of the case and to suggest its adaptability to film.

I suggest that Treadwell's dramatic recovery of Snyder's story reclaims vocal embodiment from the notable silence of tabloid photographic coverage. In the tabloids,

her story is narrated primarily in reportorial snippets that prefigure the structure of film voiceovers by non-diegetic narrators. A photographic before-and-after layout in the *Daily Mirror* documents the ravages of the trial on Ruth's physical appearance. The text below the side-by-side photographs reads:

> Beautiful Vivacious "Tommy" Would Never Recognize Today's Mrs. Snyder. These two pictures are of the same woman, Ruth Brown Snyder. You can scarcely believe it, can you? One short month ago and she was the lively blonde (left), who visited night clubs with Judd Gray and earned the nickname of "Tommy" because of her carefree vivacity. Then came the beating and strangling to death of her husband, Albert Snyder. Next the trial. Today Ruth is 10 years older in feeling and appearance. That peachbloom complexion has given way to a drawn and haggard face. The eyes that sparkled and shone have taken on a strained look. The wages of sin are death—for a woman's beauty, at least.[7]

Another photographic inset in the *Daily Mirror* shows three sequential shots of "How Snyder Reacted To the Readings of Her Alleged Murder Confession." Her visual presence is read as indication of her interior state in the caption below the trio of photographs:

> THESE STRIKING STUDIES OF MRS. SNYDER were taken in the Queens County Court immediately after she heard her repudiated murder confession read. These studies emphasize her reaction better than words can. In her nervous fingering of her black beads, in the far-away look of

> her penetrating eyes, can be noted the terrific strain under which she labored. Her sombre black attire harmonized with her mood.[8]

A *Daily Mirror* front page shows multiple similar images of Snyder, three of which have been set up to look like shots in a film strip (figure 1). About this front cover, Pelizzon and West write, "Even more flamboyant than the sequencing here is an illustrated film strip border drawn around the image. An obvious device that violates the supposed authenticity of news photography, the strip cinematizes the images and insists on the celebrity status of its subject" (220). But the filmic sequencing of the images also emphasizes their silence, as synchronized voice and image in film was not yet a filmic possibility. This *Daily Mirror* cover was released in April 1927, over a year and a half before the release of the first partial talkie *The Jazz Singer*.[9]

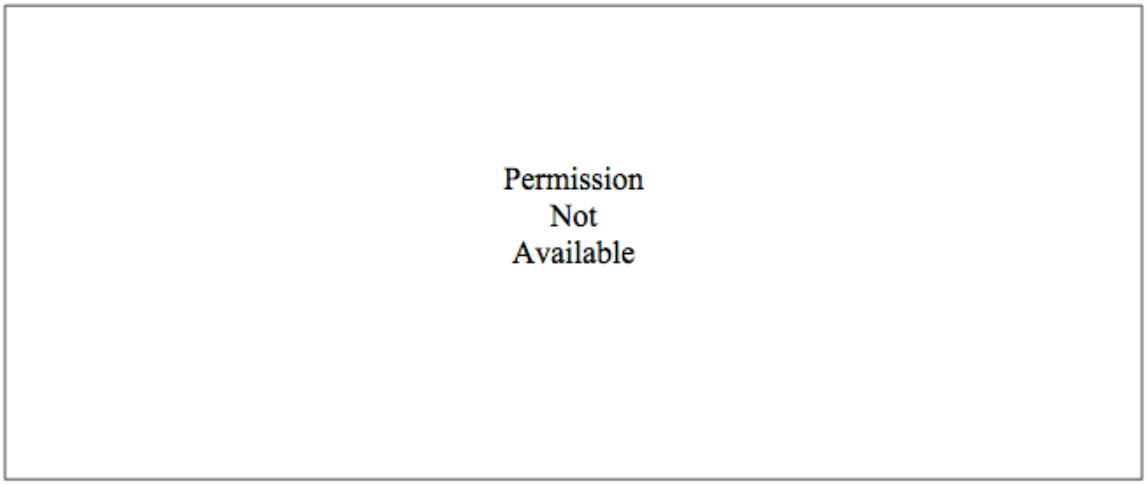

Figure 1. *Daily Mirror*, April 20, 1927. Reproduced in Pelizzon and West, "Multiple Indemnity: Film Noir, James M. Cain, and Adaptations of a Tabloid Case" (figure 4; 219).

Ruth's image is not only figured in snapshot photography and in photography sequences meant to mimic moving film, but there is also an instance in which photographs of Ruth, Judd, and Albert are made into comic strips complete with speech

bubbles. The top strip on the page reads "Ruth Paints Judd as Murder Fiend." The reportorial lines attributed to Ruth include, in order: "Gray sent me poison to give my husband," "I had no hand in the murder at all," "I was afraid Gray would finish me up too," and "Gray took money from my husband's wallet after the murder." While the comic strip setup could be read as attempting to give Ruth a voice, to give a sense of her speaking in her own words, it instead highlights the vocal silence of tabloid print. There is nothing distinctive about Ruth's lines—they do not betray character and their tone is much more objectively reportorial than the written tabloid narratives of the case. The only line that carries any vernacular flavor is one in which Ruth purportedly repeats Judd's words: in a frame of side-by-side photographs of Judd and Albert is a free-floating quotation, "Judd said 'I'm going to finish the governor Monday night."[10]

Ruth's story, then, is conveyed in the mass media form of photographic tabloid journalism and, within this, figured in relation to other non-vocal media forms such as silent moving pictures. The image that is most brutally silent is the photograph of the moment of Ruth's electrocution (figure 2) that appeared on the front page of the *Daily News* with the massive headline "Dead!" The text below the photograph is hard to decipher. It reads:

> Ruth Snyder's Death Pictured!—This is perhaps the most remarkable exclusive picture in the history of criminology. It shows the actual scene in the Sing Sing death house as the lethal current surged through Ruth Snyder's body at 11:56 last night. Her helmeted head is stiffened in death, her face masked and an electrode strapped to her bare right leg. The

> autopsy table on which her body was removed is beside her. Judd Gray, mumbling a prayer, followed her down the narrow corridor at 11:14. "Father, forgive them, for they don't know what they are doing" were Ruth's last words.

This is the only known photograph ever taken of the moment of execution by electric chair. The journalist Tom Howard strapped a camera to his ankle, hid by his pants leg, in order to photograph the electrocution surreptitiously.

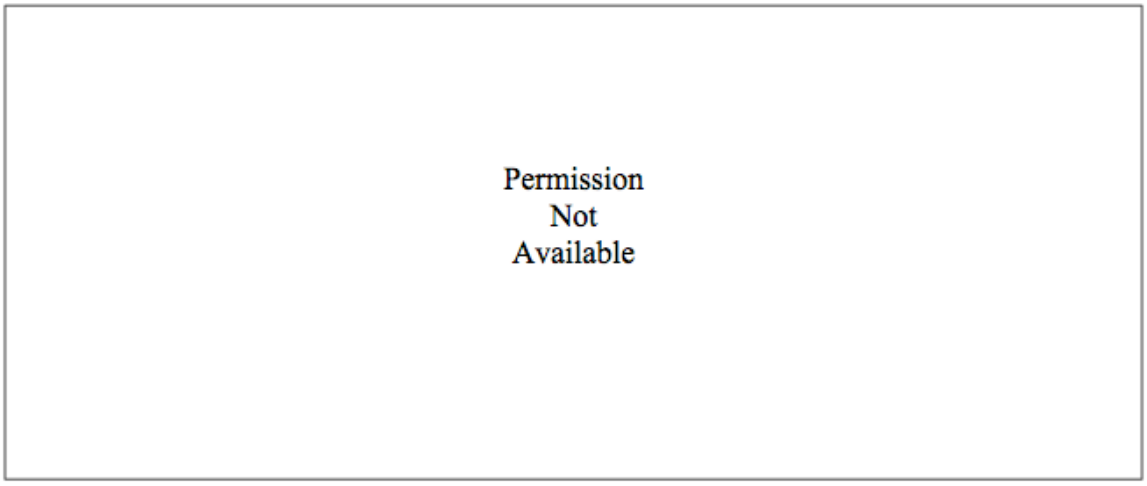

Figure 2. *Daily News*, January 13, 1928. For information on image rights, see gty.im/98213542.

For a playwright and reporter like Treadwell who had attended the lengthy trial, made audible to over 1500 spectators by the first courtroom use of microphones and speakers (Jones 486), the inability of the tabloid coverage to convey the nuances introduced by embodied voice would have been apparent. The play Treadwell writes in the months following Ruth and Judd's executions foregrounds the voices silenced in the tabloid coverage of the story.

The play starts with the "Young Woman" stifled in a workplace where the clipped speech of office workers mimics the rhythm and repetition of the machines around them: typewriters, adding machines, telephone bells, buzzers. But neither can the Young Woman communicate effectively in domestic spaces. An episode between the Young Woman and her unsympathetic mother concludes with the Young Woman's logorrheic outburst of anger before a quick, apologetic retraction. An episode between the Young Woman and her husband (her former boss) on their wedding night ends with her weeping in disgust and terror. It is only when the Young Woman is with her lover that, as stage directions indicate, "the sound of her voice is beautiful" (45) and "her gestures" are "unconscious . . . relaxed, sure and full of natural grace" (50).

The courtroom episode contrasts routinized, mechanical legal proceedings with the Young Woman's eventual confession, in which she struggles to explain her reasons for murder to an uncomprehending court:

> JUDGE. If you just wanted to be free—why didn't you divorce him?
>
> YOUNG WOMAN. Oh I couldn't do that!! I couldn't hurt him like that!
>
> *Burst of laughter from all in the court. The Young Woman stares out at them, and then seems to go rigid.* (75)

Following this, the Young Woman moans "a sound of desolation, of agony, of human woe" (76) through the remaining few minutes of the episode. At the play's end, as the Young Woman is being led to the electric chair, the scene blacks out while voices of the priest, reporters, and the Young Woman sound from the darkness. At one point a reporter asks "Did you see that? She fixed her hair under her cap—pulled her hair out under the

cap" (83). What the reporter notices goes unseen by the audience, viewing a darkened stage. The reporter is hushed, as a priest continues to pray, and we hear the Young Woman's voice cut off mid-word—she is calling out "Somebody! Somebod" (83)—as she is electrocuted. This conclusion focuses the audience's attention aurally and denies the visual spectacle of the Young Woman's death.[11]

The play is not only a vocal reimagining of Ruth Snyder's story but also a meditation on the status of the human voice within a modern soundscape and increasing mechanization. Introductory notes in the script explain that:

> The story is told in nine scenes. In the dialogue of these scenes there is the attempt to catch the rhythm of our common city speech, its brassy sound, its trick of repetition, etc.
>
> Then there is, also, the use of many different sounds chosen primarily for their inherent emotional effect (steel riveting, a priest chanting, a Negro singing, jazz band, etc.), but contributing also to the creation of a background, an atmosphere. (xi)

The introductory notes list, too, multiple offstage voices "Heard, but Unseen" (xii) from radio broadcasters to voices that float into a room from city streets, nearby buildings, and adjacent apartments; mechanical offstage sounds, such as telegram instruments and an aeroplane engine; and mechanical onstage sounds, including office machines and an electric piano. At the start of each differently located episode, the stage directions outline the sounds to be heard.

The play has often been read in expressionist terms of technology destroying individuality as well as the fate of an isolated character. Treadwell echoes Elmer Rice's 1923 American expressionist play *The Adding Machine*, in which the central character, Mr. Zero, after being fired from his number-crunching job and replaced by an adding machine, murders his boss. A 1928 *New York Times* review of the first staging of *Machinal* writes that Treadwell "has held an individual character against the hard surface of a mechanical age" (Atkinson). Treadwell's dramatic narrative heightens the Young Woman's individual isolation in contrast to the coupling of Snyder and Gray throughout the murder and the trial. Only the Young Woman is linked to the murder; her lover is not implicated.

Machinal's particular treatment of voice, however, invites a more nuanced consideration of modern technology. The speech of the office workers in the play's first episode might mimic mechanical efficiency, but the back-and-forth dialogue ranges beyond business matters and make possible a form of responsive, communal participation otherwise missing from the Young Woman's life. For instance, the Young Woman is asked by her office mates why she got off the subway at an earlier stop, thus making her late to work:

> YOUNG WOMAN. I had to get out!
>
> ADDING CLERK. Out!
>
> FILING CLERK. Out?
>
> STENOGRAPHER. Out where?
>
> YOUNG WOMAN. In the air!

STENOGRAPHER. Air?

YOUNG WOMAN. All those bodies pressing.

FILING CLERK. Hot dog!

YOUNG WOMAN. I thought I would faint! I had to get out in the air!

FILING CLERK. Give her the air.

ADDING CLERK. Free air—

STENOGRAPHER. Hot air.

YOUNG WOMAN. Like I'm dying.

STENOGRAPHER. Same thing yesterday. (Pause.) And the day before.

YOUNG WOMAN. Yes—what am I going to do?

ADDING CLERK. Take a taxi! (*They laugh.*)

FILING CLERK. Call a cop! (6)

The clipped rhythm of the dialogue does not allow for expansive elucidation by either the Young Woman or her office mates but manages to glean some accurate sense of the Young Woman's trouble while at the same time bringing her into a social web of verbal engagement. Later, the Telephone Girl in the office manages to move deftly between business and personal communication while operating the phone lines, and her connectedness beyond the office allows for the Young Woman's initial introduction to her lover. At various points, radio transmissions and unseen sounds of nearby conversations and music interrupt otherwise claustrophobic domestic scenes, indicating alternative scenes and possibilities. The sonic mélange called for throughout the stage directions tempers the expressionist, isolated cries of the Young Woman.

Kafka reportedly once said of a volume of expressionist poetry that "It is screaming. That is all."[12] Attending to the role of voice in *Machinal* opens ways of understanding the play not just as a later example of expressionist form but also as a compelling cultural project that negotiates among media—print, still photography, drama—their emerging technological advances, and their shifting claims on sensory experience.

Chapter Summary

Machinal raises in vivid and even melodramatic fashion questions central to my larger project: How did figurations of voice change as technologies of sound and mechanical reproduction reshaped the modern soundscape? How do increasingly mediated sensations of voice compel reconsiderations of the audible versus the interior, concepts of gender, and notions of community and the human?

Chapter one, "Dorothy Arzner's Talkies: Gender, Technologies of Voice, and the Modernist Sensorium," focuses these questions on the work of the only woman director of Hollywood sound film from its beginnings into the early 1940s. As scholars such as Laura Marcus and Michael North have observed, the avant-garde resisted the vernacular modernism of the talkies and their synchronization of voice and image. I first turn to under-examined essays by H. D. and Dorothy Richardson in the journal *Close Up: A Quarterly Devoted to the Art of Film* that pose the talkies as male because they constrain women's aesthetic engagement as film spectators. This position anticipates in key ways the psychoanalytic feminist film theory of the 1970s and 1980s, particularly arguments that women's embodied voice in classical Hollywood cinema confines them to the social

mandates of a gendered body. I claim that Arzner embeds responses to these contemporaneous and future critiques through what she calls "unusual moments" within her Hollywood films. For example, in *Get Your Man* (1927), Arzner's only extant silent film, an extended sequence in a waxworks museum teaches the protagonist (Clara Bow) to navigate the differences between mechanical automatons and human subjects by playing with voice. The chapter goes on to analyze scenes in Arzner's pre-Code talkies that suggest a complex and resonant voice for women through technologies of film sound. By attending to such moments, I demonstrate how Arzner explores the possibility of an embodied modernist voice that is at once reflexive about technologies of mass culture and attentive to women's social and aesthetic concerns.

My second chapter takes the topic of voice across the Atlantic and across the formal boundary between the cinema and the novel. "Joyce's 'soundseemetery': The Zukofsky-Reisman *Ulysses* Screenplay and Global Talk in the 1930s" investigates James Joyce's specific encounters with sound film theory and practice and their significance for Joyce's cinematic understandings of *Ulysses* in the 1930s as well as his approach to voice in *Finnegans Wake*. The chapter shows why sound film aesthetics mattered for Joyce by investigating his part in the ultimately unsuccessful attempt to turn *Ulysses* (1922) into a talkie for Hollywood. Joyce's involvement with the screenplay written by the poets Louis Zukofsky and Jerry Reisman from 1932-1935 not only reveals his desire for a *Ulysses* framed for a mass audience, as Joseph Kelly has argued, but also aligns Joyce's own interpretation of *Ulysses* in the 1930s with vernacular modernism. The screenplay forms a hybrid of classical Hollywood talkie and silent avant-garde film aesthetics, with two

distinct outcomes: First, the screenplay reveals the importance of situated, embodied speech in the famously experimental novel. But simultaneously the screenplay, in its apportioning of silent, avant-garde visuality to what cannot be represented naturalistically (either in the novel or on screen) denies—and, in fact, silences—dreamworlds and linguistically driven interiors in its representation of a colonized nation. My meditation on Joyce's relationship to avant-garde film aesthetics is enhanced through comparison of extant accounts of the 1929 meeting between Joyce and the Soviet avant-garde filmmaker S. M. Eisenstein, who published at length on avant-garde approaches to sound in film and looms large in lore about Joyce and film. The chapter ends with a brief section that poses Joyce's engagements with sound film as generative for approaches to spoken language and its global circulation in *Finnegans Wake*.

The third and final chapter, "Nonhuman Voice and Sociality in Virginia Woolf's *Between the Acts*," examines Woolf's final novel (1941) as a meditation on the role of audible voice in formations of the human, of communities, and of language. The novel focuses on a pageant play of scenes from English history up to the present of July 1939, staged outdoors on a country estate. As Woolf uncharacteristically turns to the external world, voice takes communal shape. Melba Cuddy-Keane, Jed Esty, Patricia Laurence, and Michele Pridmore-Brown have variously described this communal voice as choral, anonymous, or, when piping through the gramophone or megaphone, dictatorially unifying. Yet these otherwise insightful readings manifest what Bruno Latour proposes in *We Have Never Been Modern* (trans. 1993): that the mindset of modernity is sustained by an inability to recognize nonhumans and hybrids in a world that could not function

without them. Voice thus remains human even when en masse, nameless, or implicated in fascism. This chapter, however, shows how animals and machines—including cows, birds, a gramophone, and airplanes—make unexpected contributions to the pageant's soundscape, and that these are framed as voices. The novel takes on the challenging work of depicting how nonhuman agents may come to have a voice, as literally as possible, in collective, communal forms of life. My reading sets the novel in dialogue not only with Latour and other theorists of the nonhuman, but also with Woolf's own account of how the aural and oral world enters English literary history in her unfinished "Common History book" project. Woolf offers an alternative approach to modernity by contemplating how a collectivity of human and nonhuman voices expands our senses of language at the most basic levels—words, phonemes, tones, machine sounds, and animal vocality. This deceptively simple work of listening to voice shows Woolf's social vision enacted at the dawn of total war.

Notes
Introduction

[1] See Kahn, *Noise, Water, Meat* (1999); Emily Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America*, 1900-1913 (Cambridge: MIT P, 2004); Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Durham: Duke UP, 2003); James Lastra, *Sound Technology and the America Cinema: Perception, Representation, Modernity* (New York: Columbia UP, 2000); and Adelaide Morris ed., *Sound States*.

[2] *The Oxford Handbook of Sound Studies*, ed. Trevor Pinch and Karin Bijsterveld (2011) and, from Routledge, T*he Sound Studies Reader*, ed. Jonathan Sterne (2012).

[3] For avant-garde resistance to the talkies, see Michael North, *Camera Works*, ch. 2. For examples of work on modernism and radio, see Todd Avery, *Radio Modernism: Literature, Ethics, and the BBC 1922-1938* (Hampshire UK: Ashgate, 2006); Daniel Tiffany, *Radio Corpse: Imagism and the Cryptaesthetic of Ezra Pound* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1995); and Debra Rae Cohen, Michael Coyle, and Jane A. Lewty, *Broadcasting Modernism* (Gainesville: UP of Florida, 2013).

[4] For instance, in Laura Marcus's extensive study *The Tenth Muse: Writing about Cinema in the Modernist Period* (2007), it is not until the coda that we reach "The Coming of Sound." Televisual aesthetics represent another relatively new area of modernist inquiry.

[5] Griffith's attendance is noted by MacKellar (112). For extended information on the trial and its coverage by the media, see John Kobler, *The Trial of Ruth Snyder and Judd Gray* (1938), Landis MacKellar, *The "Double Indemnity" Murder* (2006), and Jennifer Jones, "In Defense of the Woman: Sophie Treadwell's *Machinal*."

[6] Richard Murphy has linked expressionist drama with melodramatic form, with how the latter "insists primarily upon an unspeakable and repressed realm, upon a moral universe which exists . . . as a kind of 'occult' inhabiting the edges of the unstable visible world" (149). Murphy, however, does not address Treadwell's *Machinal* directly. Julia A. Walker, in her chapter about *Machinal*'s attention to its protagonist's hands, argues that "Treadwell's use of sounds and images . . . suggests that they have a greater power of expression than do words." For Walker, sounds and images in the play align with gestural meaning that is distanced from the actual words spoken. Thus Treadwell critiques "the ways in which language is used to uphold male institutions of power." The Young Woman "seeks to speak meaningfully" while "[t]he meaningless clichés spoken by her colleagues, her mother, her husband, the nurse, the newspaper reporters, the judge, the priest all indicate the bankruptcy of language if it is isolated from other forms of meaning" (231).

[7] The photographic inset is reproduced in Pelizzon and West 219. The original publication date is not noted, but it was published in the *Daily News* between March 20, 1927 and January 13, 1928.

[8] The photographic inset is reproduced in Pelizzon and West 219. The original publication date is not noted, but it was published in the *Daily News* between March 20, 1927 and January 13, 1928.

[9] *The Jazz Singer* was released in October 1928.

[10] The photographic inset is reproduced in Pelizzon and West 219. The original publication date is not noted, but it was published in the *Daily News* between March 20, 1927 and January 13, 1928.

[11] It is worth noting, as well, that Treadwell offers different last words for Snyder than were reported with her death photo. On stage there are generalized pleas for mercy that the script tells us are to be vocalized by the priest; Snyder's reported last words, on the other hand, ask for forgiveness for those responsible for her execution.

[12] See Gustav Janouch, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, 53, as quoted in Murphy 142.

Chapter 1

Dorothy Arzner's Talkies: Gender, Technologies of Voice, and the Modernist Sensorium*

The shift from silent film to sound film in the mid-to-late 1920s produced one of the most salient modernist technologies of voice. Following the technologically mediated separation of the senses in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, or what Laura Marcus describes as "a point at which the new technologies of sound and vision were seen to be . . . rendering autonomous the realms of the eye and the ear" (101), Hollywood talkies promised audiences a reintegrated sensorium and novelty of embodied voice. Sound film constituted an especially influential form of vernacular modernism.[1] The synchronization of voice with film, however, marked a substantial rift between vernacular modernism and the avant-garde. With the transition to sound, film production divided into classical talkies with increasing economic and distributive power and avant-garde film that was purposefully silent or, less often, employed voice non-synchronously. The newness of the talkies was strongly resisted by writers associated with *Close Up: A Quarterly Devoted to the Art of Films* (1927-1933), primarily on aesthetic grounds concerned with the intrusion of voice into the visual medium of film. Laura Marcus and Michael North have both written in great depth about avant-garde and modernist resistance to the talkies, but what has thus far been addressed only minimally is the strain of resistance from women writers concerned with gendered relationships to voice in film.[2]

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* A version of this chapter first appeared in *Modern Fiction Studies 59.2* (June 2012): 346-72. Copyright © 2012 The Johns Hopkins University Press.

In writings for *Close Up*, both Dorothy Richardson and H. D. privilege the muteness of silent film and code it as female. Richardson takes this furthest with her claim that "the talkies" represent "the film gone male" ("The Film Gone Male"). This gendering of the talkies has surprising affinity with the psychoanalytically inflected feminist film theories of the 1970s and 1980s. The latter reads the formal structures of Hollywood classical cinema as fixing any woman on the screen into a rigidly gendered position, not only scopically through the male gaze but also acoustically through speech that synchronizes voice with body. This essay reconsiders these arguments and their attendant concerns about gender by analyzing the work of Dorothy Arzner, the only woman director of Hollywood sound film from its inception into the early 1940s. A director of three silent films and more than twelve talkies, Arzner troubles in her films the constrictive alignment of voice (or its absence) with gendered subjectivity. Her artistic endeavors speak to early critiques of the talkies in ways that anticipate subsequent critiques from both modernist and feminist perspectives. By experimenting with the sensorial reintegration posed by the talkies, Arzner develops the possibility of an embodied modernist voice that is both reflexive about technologies of mass culture and deeply attentive to the situations of women.

Born in San Francisco sometime between 1897 and 1900, Arzner was a pre-med student at the University of Southern California and a volunteer for the Los Angeles Emergency Ambulance Corps during World War I, before starting work with Famous-Players Lasky (which would later become Paramount).[3] Starting as a script typist in 1919, Arzner progressed to work as a script supervisor, cut and edit films, screen-write, and,

finally, direct. The first three films she directed were silent with intertitles: *Fashions for Women*, *Ten Modern Commandments*, and *Get Your Man*—all released in 1927; her fourth film, *Manhattan Cocktail*, from 1928, featured synchronized vocal music but the dialogue was silent (Parker 13). The *New York Times* reports that, when *Manhattan Cocktail* was shown in Budapest in 1929, its star Nancy Carroll was hailed as "the great hope of the talking film" ("American Films in Budapest"). But these films are lost, except for *Get Your Man*, which is housed at the Library of Congress and missing two reels of six, and, from *Manhattan Cocktail*, a brief "skyline dance" sequence arranged by the montage artist and avant-garde director Slavko Vorkapić.[4] Arzner had been assigned to direct *Glorifying the American Girl*, about a Ziegfield Follies showgirl, around the time the first talkies were being released by Warner Brothers. She remembers informing Paramount that she wanted sound and color for the film, but, because Paramount was one of the later studios to transition into sound, "they gave me the absent treatment for a few months," and eventually she was taken off the picture. She also tells of "[h]ow Jesse Lasky had called her 'a dreaming young schoolgirl' for urging Paramount to make sound and color motion pictures" (*Hollywood Series* interview).[5]

Arzner's first full talkie was released in April 1929: *The Wild Party* with Clara Bow in her first speaking role; Bow had already starred in Arzner's silent *Get Your Man*. It was during the filming of *The Wild Party* that Arzner invented the fishpole, or boom, microphone—a microphone that hangs overhead and moves easily anywhere on set, in part in response to Bow's nervousness about central, stationary microphones.[6] This invention was a boon for sound film. As Arzner notes in 1978, it allowed actors to talk

and move at the same time and kept the "sound man" from dictating "the choreography of the scenes" (*Hollywood Series* interview). Five more pre-Code talkies with Paramount followed: *Sarah and Son* (1930), *Anybody's Woman* (1930), *Honor among Lovers* (1931), *Working Girls* (1931), and *Merrily We Go To Hell* (1932); and from 1933-1943 Arzner moved among studios, directing a total of six more films: *Christopher Strong* (1933; RKO), *Nana* (1934; United Artists), *Craig's Wife* (1936; Columbia), *The Bride Wore Red* (1937; MGM), *Dance, Girl, Dance* (1940; RKO), and *First Comes Courage* (1943; Columbia).[7] Known as a star-maker, Arzner worked with, in addition to Bow, Katharine Hepburn, Joan Crawford, and Lucille Ball, among many others.

Arzner's work was largely forgotten until the 1970s, when her legacy was recovered by feminist film scholars.[8] Subsequent scholarship on Arzner has been significant for both feminist and queer approaches to film history and film narrative, but her work has not been considered within modernist studies or the cultural history of sound in modernity. The latter oversight occurred, in part, because the overall contours of the films Arzner directed are very much in keeping with what was expected of classical Hollywood productions. As Mark Wollaeger explains, "[o]ne school of thought . . . understands classical cinema as the antithesis of modernism" because "classical cinema generates meaning and the illusion of a unified subject by suppressing difference, discontinuity, and the process of production" (220). A crucial structuring factor of this perceived unity is embodied speech, or the connection of spoken dialogue with filmic presence.

Film scholars tend to locate the beginnings of modernist cinema in the late 1950s and 1960s, as a revolt against classical cinema.[9] William Rothman argues that it was not until the mid-1920s and what has been considered the golden age of silent cinema that the mantra "make it new" would have had a clear enough antecedent when applied to film. Prior to this golden age, film was still a newly born medium without established traditions. At the point when film could have been "made new," what developed were the talkies (aligned with classical cinema) as well as the chosen silence of the first cinematic avant-garde. Rothman does not consider this avant-garde as "modernist," for, "[r]ather than being compelled to find radically new forms and structures in order to keep faith with film's history as an art, they made films that conformed, stylistically, to modernist works in other arts (above all, painting), disowning or disregarding film's own artistic tradition" (328).

These assessments of modernism vis-a-vis both classical sound film and the films of the first cinematic avant-garde stem largely from an emphasis on the autonomy and separateness of artistic media. Avant-garde cinema too easily shrugs off the history and particularities of its medium, and the extent to which it might achieve formal autonomy from the other arts. In contrast, the speech of the talkies was perceived as extraneous and detrimental to film as a visual medium. In a 1929 issue of *Close Up*, Ernest Betts exhorts, "Put speech into films, and you will get speech plus film but you will not get a film" ("Why 'Talkies' Are Unsound"). Silent films of course accommodated sound so long as it was live accompaniment to the visual, already-made film. As James Donald explains:

> You would always have heard a musical accompaniment (whether a specifically written score played by a full orchestra or an ill-prepared pianist trying to keep up), a lecturer commenting on the film and guiding audience reactions, a manager filling in while reels were changed, and simply the whir of the projector and the conversation and noisiness of other people. The objection was specifically to synchronized *speech*, and the increased reliance on the spoken word it implied. (Donald 80)

The objection was reasoned in a number of ways, one of which was that the "emphasis on language . . . would inevitably be bought at the expense of the inner speech that was supposedly invoked and conveyed by the art of silent montage" (Donald 80). Another strain of objection was that the talkies provided a too-easily consumable integration of sight and speech, not defamiliarizing enough to be art. Suggesting middle-class boredom with Hollywood film, Bryher writes, also in *Close Up*, that cinemas in the US have become "for children or the unskilled, whose parents probably could not talk English," thus implying that the talkies could only remain dazzling in cases of newness to or estrangement from a spoken language ("The Hollywood Code [II]" 281).[10] In lieu of the fear that embodied voice would hamper or even destroy film's tenuous status as an art form, Arzner embraced the talkies and their integration of film's visual capabilities with technologies of voice. When asked in 1978 about her involvement with the coming of sound, Arzner explains that "we were pioneers and wanting to be, and eager for whatever was new" (*Hollywood Series* interview).

Dorothy Richardson and H. D. on the Talkies

Close Up was edited by Kenneth Macpherson and Bryher, who—along with H. D.—collaborated on POOL films, including the 1929 silent film *Borderline* with Paul and Eslanda Robeson. The quarterly focused on international avant-garde film and its writers resisted the synchronized voice of talkies. Arguments against sound film are prevalent throughout the journal's run from 1927-1933.[11] But, as Maggie Humm notes, "*Close Up*'s most intelligent and comprehensive attacks on the talkies were in columns by women writers, particularly Dorothy Richardson's 'The Film Gone Male' and H. D.'s 'The Cinema and the Classics'" (139). Among *Close Up*'s many contributors, these two authors formulate the gendered difference between silent film and sound film.[12] From our vantage point, Richardson's claim that the talkies represented "film gone male" might seem prescient, if imprecise; while women directors abounded in the silent film era, the frequency of women's film direction was greatly reduced after studio consolidation, which overlapped with the transition to sound film.[13] Richardson's and H. D.'s concerns, however, are not about the creative production of films, but the aesthetic experience of film spectators.

Richardson, in her regular column "Continuous Performance," poses the movie theater as a new kind of public sphere that allowed predominantly female audiences the chance for rest and quiet contemplation. Richardson's approach to film is both phenomenological and populist—she is interested in what the experience of film offers to the masses, and especially to women. In an untitled July 1927 installment of "Continuous Performance," she notes the audience for a Monday afternoon screening:

> It was Monday and therefore a new picture. But it was also washday, and yet the scattered audience was composed almost entirely of mothers. Their children, apart from the infants accompanying them, were at school and their husbands were at work. It was a new audience, born within the last few months. Tired women, their faces sheened with toil, and small children, penned in semi-darkness and foul air on a sunny afternoon. There was almost no talk. Many of the women sat alone, figures of weariness at rest. Watching these I took comfort. At last the world of entertainment had provided a few pence, tea thrown in, a sanctuary for mothers, an escape from the everlasting *qui vive* into eternity on a Monday afternoon. (160)

Richardson did not view the silent film experience as simply one of rest or escapism, but as provoking "a co-operation of the creative consciousness of the audience" (161). She explains, in a later column, that "the film, as intimate as thought, so long as it is free from the introduction of the alien element of sound, gives this co-operation its best chance" ("A Thousand Pities" 167).

Richardson's belief that silent film—or silent film with a unifying musical soundtrack—allowed audience members to be propelled by the visual movement onscreen into their own thought worlds, uninterrupted by voice and other sounds deriving from the actions onscreen, has strong affinities with media theorist Friedrich Kittler's view of silent film's place within twentieth-century discourse networks. Kittler aligns the communication technologies of the early twentieth century with Lacanian notions—silent

film is considered the imaginary, the gramophone and related sound technologies represent the real, and postprint writing mechanisms, such as the typewriter, fall within the symbolic. These alignments allow Kittler to address aspects of media specificity; for example, sound recording captures "all the voices and utterances produced by bodies" as opposed to the striving for "a projected continuity and wholeness" (16) in narrative silent film. But Kittler's conceptual division of technologies cannot account adequately for fluidity among and integration of media.[14] Richardson's views on silent film lead her toward inflexibility as well. She presents silent film as allowing a kind of unified imaginary experience, so long as voice cannot enter, claiming that "Vocal sound, always a barrier to intimacy, is destructive of the balance between what is seen and the silently perceiving, co-operating onlooker" ("A Thousand Pities" 167).[15] An intimate connection with film for Richardson means being able to experience it as universal, spiritual, and transcendent. She praises the universal language of Chaplin's pantomime: the "spiritual experience" of "great dramatic moments" of which "poetry, epigram, metaphor, chit-chat social, philosophic or scientific" are only the "reactions and afterthought"; and beauty capable of "holding us to its eternity by its soundlessness" ("A Thousand Pities" 167, 166). Voice, on the other hand, imposes the here and now, destroying a perception of expansive intimacy. For Richardson, the modern sensorium is decidedly compartmentalized, and the different senses are portrayed as at odds with each other. Vision is given primacy as "the one faculty that is best able to summon all the others," while nevertheless being threatened by actual sound, beyond musical accompaniment ("A Tear for Lycidas" 197).

Richardson complicates her position even further in 1932 with "The Film Gone Male," in which she deems silent film "female" and the talkies "male." Her argument stems from what today seems an uneasy coexistence of mythic notions of a "universal, unchanging" feminine realm and sociopolitical attentiveness to the everyday experiences of women. In a world in which she believed women were constantly needing to synthesize and respond to male voices—in domestic spaces or as working women entering the public sphere—she wished to retain what she saw the silent film experience as offering: a more contemplative mode of communication, a mode of encountering and engaging with the world (or its photographic representation on screen) removed from the exigencies of speech. Richardson considers women as "humanity's silent half, without much faith in speech as a medium of communication." She clarifies that, of course, women speak, but that socially situated speech for women tends to function as a "façade," masking as opposed to communicating "their awareness of being." She sees this as opposed to the directionality of socially situated speech for men, whom she claims are in a phenomenological state of "planful becoming" (206).

Richardson had long been attentive to and celebratory of how cinema pulled together new audiences, new groupings, new public spheres, and how it allowed for the "becoming" of "new world citizens" ("The Cinema in Arcady" 186). She writes in "The Increasing Congregation," "And so here we all are. All over London, all over England, all over the world. Together in this strange hospice risen overnight, rough and provisional but guerdon none the less of a world in the making" (171). In addition to the cinema as "a sanctuary for mothers" (untitled [July 1927] 160), she addresses the constitution of

audiences in “The Front Rows,” “The Cinema in the Slums,” and “The Cinema in Arcady.” But, for her, these public spheres, and the connections among “world citizens” they fostered, should be constituted by the denial of vocalized discourse on the screen and, to a lesser degree, in the audience. The notion of a largely feminized public sphere that privileges silence or a unifying musical soundtrack is eerie and holds troubling political implications. The absence of vocality in Richardson’s “world in the making” would allow its citizens to feel united for an hour or two while separated from the realm of verbalization and interlocution. Insofar as movie theaters were among the few public places where women might easily gather en masse in the late 1920s, Richardson’s insistence on silent aesthetic contemplation keeps commonalities and differences submerged—onscreen and off—while reinforcing an idea of women as removed from both language and democratic engagement.

H. D.’s writings in *Close Up* largely corroborate Richardson’s arguments about gender, cinema, and the sensorium. H. D. discusses the transition from silent to sound film at length in “The Mask and the Movietone,” published in *Close Up* in November 1927. It is a dense and imagistic piece that considers the human figures in silent films as “dolls,” “ghost-loves,” and “masks,” which in their incompleteness allow for a primitivistic “world of half light” that H. D. values (120). The addition of sound dialogue makes the dolls into robots, or, as she writes, “A doll, a sort of mask or marionette about which one could drape one’s devotions, intellectually, almost visibly like the ardent Catholic with his image of madonna, became a sort of robot” (115). In this formulation, the silent film escapes charges of technologized mechanization—it is only the addition of

voice that changes a doll into a robot. For her part, H. D. acknowledges the technological, mechanistic reality of silent moving pictures, but argues that synchronized sound heightens our awareness of it—revealing the machine in the ghost of "that half-world of lights and music and blurred perception" (119). She is concerned that synchronized sound is too easily "welded"—as opposed to "wedded"—to images. Recorded sound and picture bring out "in some diabolic fashion . . . mechanical and artificial traits in the other. Each alone would have left us to our dreams. The two together proved too much. The screen image, a mask, a sort of doll or marionette was somehow mechanized and robbed of the thing behind the thing that has grown to matter so much to the picture-adept" (115).[16]

H. D.'s meditation on the transition from silent to sound film does not rely quite as fully on notions of gender as Richardson's. At an early point in the essay, H. D. mentions dolls as being either "heroes" or "heroines" (115); yet her pronouns for dolls throughout are almost exclusively female.[17] Moreover, H. D.'s essay was written as a response to seeing (and hearing) the actress Raquel Meller in a Movietone film, and H. D. depicts the turn from doll to robot through the example of Meller. No male actors are mentioned, although she celebrates a newsreel of Charles Lindbergh as a "perfect" use of Movietone, given that it has "to do with reality and with national affairs and with education" (119).[18] This gendered division between silent "ghost loves" that allow for "the possibility of something more divine behind the outer symbol of the something shown there" (119) and the sociality of voice has clear affinities with Richardson's notion of "the film gone male."

Arzner's Transition to Sound

Dorothy Arzner's connections to literary modernism and the avant-garde are few but noteworthy. The screenwriter with whom she most often collaborated, Zoë Akins, had a close friendship with Willa Cather. At least two of Arzner's films have brief montage sequences contributed by the avant-garde artist Slavko Vorkapić (who worked on a number of such sequences for Hollywood films). The London Film Society, to which many British modernists belonged, showed Arzner's first (silent) film, *Fashions for Women* (1926), in a March 1930 program featuring women directors.[19] And although only two sentences about Arzner's work as a talkie director can be found in *Close Up*, the journal profiled her career positively in its "Hollywood Notes" section when Arzner was still a silent film director.[20] *Close Up*'s Hollywood correspondent Clifford Howard noted in April 1928 that "Arzner in her so-far brief career as a director has already won an established reputation and a following of discriminating admirers," and that she "promises to become an increasingly important factor in the evolution of cinema technique" (54).

In a more frictional connection, Arzner's 1934 film *Christopher Strong* (with Katharine Hepburn) was adapted from the British novel of the same name by Gilbert Frankau. Leonard Woolf, in his 1927 essay *Hunting the Highbrow*, takes sustained issue with Frankau, whose popular novels were conventional in form and conservative in outlook. Woolf goes so far as to name the third of five types of highbrow he somewhat facetiously lists as endangered as "Altifrons frankauensis" or "the man who is not entertained and uplifted by the novels of Mr. Gilbert Frankau" (10). But, as Judith Mayne

argues, Arzner and her screenwriter Akins provided a "critical and subversive revision and re-reading" of the original novel by ironizing love scenes that were simply sentimental in the novel, thus calling into question its conventional approach to romantic narrative (*Directed* 117). They also changed the profession of the main female character from racecar driver to aviatrix, providing a resonant metaphor for transnational Hollywood film; for, as Hogarth Press author Eric Walter White claims in *Parnassus to Let: An Essay about Rhythm in the Films* (1928), "a film ignores frontiers like an aeroplane" (48).[21]

Bryher, in a February 1928 *Close Up* article titled "In Defense of Hollywood," suggested that Arzner would be an ideal director for silent film's original "It girl" Clara Bow, known for countless films throughout the 1920s, including *The Plastic Age* (1925), *Mantrap* (1926), *It* (1927), and *Wings* (1927). Bryher writes:

> Clara Bow is excellent, when allowed to be herself. Unhappily she is usually spoiled half way through the film by having to pretend to be what she emphatically is not. Dorothy Arzner should direct her. A film that brought across only her "tough" amoral liveliness and cut out the beaded dresses and the sentiment would be a joy to watch. (47)

In fact, Arzner had released her first film with Clara Bow—titled *Get Your Man*—a few months before the *Close Up* issue containing Bryher's article was published. This was the third film Arzner directed and the last she would direct without any synchronized voice. *Get Your Man* is the only silent film of Arzner's of which a partial copy is known to exist, and the footage that remains reveals a filmmaker engaged in discourse about the

coming of sound film.[22] The overarching narrative of the film keeps with expectations for a Hollywood studio production—we follow Clara Bow's character Nancy Worthington, a North American visiting Paris, as she "gets her man"—Robert, the son of a French Duke, played by Charles "Buddy" Rogers. But an early set of scenes in a waxworks museum meditates on the history of film form. In 1970s interviews, Arzner was often dismissive about the overarching stories in her films—she told Guy Flatley in a *New York Times* interview that directors "better have a fairly good story to start with" and that she "never had a great story, but I used to tell myself, 'I'm the only woman director, so I'd better not complain.'"[23] However, she points out in an interview with Thames Television in 1978 that "I always had something unusual in my pictures," and the examples she gives—an Ariadne's thread sequence in the now-lost *Manhattan Cocktail* and the extended waxworks sequence in *Get Your Man*—indicate a more experimental and meditative approach to film form than she could afford to take across a full feature.[24]

As Vanessa Schwartz has shown, the waxworks were one of a group of precinematic spectacles influencing the development and reception of cinema. Some early Pathé films were based upon sequential tableaux exhibits at wax museums, including *Histoire d'un crime* (1902), which adapted six of the seven tableaux of a series with the same title at Paris's Musée Grévin (Bloom 22). Schwartz argues that a waxworks museum exhibit "was already a series of moving pictures," in that "its effectiveness as a serial narrative that presented a series of freeze-frames required the onlooker to walk through the display" (146.) But the waxworks are also notable for their span of contemporaneity with cinema, shown most intriguingly in the institutional

overlap of wax tableaux and cinema at the Musée Grévin. Founded in 1882, the Musée Grévin was primarily a wax museum but often presented moving pictures, whether in the form of Emile Reynaud's *pantomimes lumineuses*, or actuality films (newsreels), or light and mirror shows.[25] Given cinema's popularity, the museum directors planned in 1914 to convert most of the museum's space, including its entire ground floor, into a movie theater, but this plan was halted when the space did not pass inspection because of fire concerns. The museum that Nancy explores in *Get Your Man* was likely intended to represent the Musée Grévin, as by 1914 it "had become the only wax museum left in Paris—a city that had probably seen a dozen wax museums come and go over the course of the 1880s and 1890s" (Schwartz 196).

In the few years before the transition to sound film, filmic treatment of wax museum tableaux can be read as reflection on the soon-to-be surpassed media of silent film. Films previous to *Get Your Man* that thematize silent film via waxworks tableaux include Paul Leni's *Waxworks* (1924; German) and René Clair's *Le Voyage imaginaire* (1925; French). In both films, waxworks figures come to life, either in contained, diagetically imagined narratives (as in *Waxworks*) or as elements in expansive surreal adventures (as in *Le Voyage imaginaire*). This suggests for silent film the obsolescence and novelty status of waxworks as well as a compulsion toward reanimation and revivification. Or, in Bernard Shaw's words, it was becoming apparent that "[t]he silent drama is exhausting the resources of silence." In the much later *Sunset Boulevard* (1950), Joe calls Norma Desmond's silent-film-era friends "waxworks." The 1933 horror film

Mystery of the Wax Museum and the 1953 remake *House of Wax* push the suggestion of obsolescence even further, with wax figures that are preserved dead bodies.

In *Get Your Man*, the question of voice arises immediately when Nancy enters the waxworks museum in the course of her urban perambulations about Paris. We see one museum guard approach another, only to open a door in the latter's back, revealing a mechanical interior. Cogs and pulleys are wound up and set in motion, in a prolonged close-up (figures 1). When wound up, the mechanical guard periodically raises one arm in a directional gesture appropriate to its location at the museum's entrance. This happens a split-second after Nancy approaches the guard to ask for directions, and understanding the movement as a response (figure 2), she reciprocates with an enthusiastic "Thank you very much" (which we see voiced but, of course, do not hear). When the guard only stands silent, Nancy expresses bemusement before walking away.

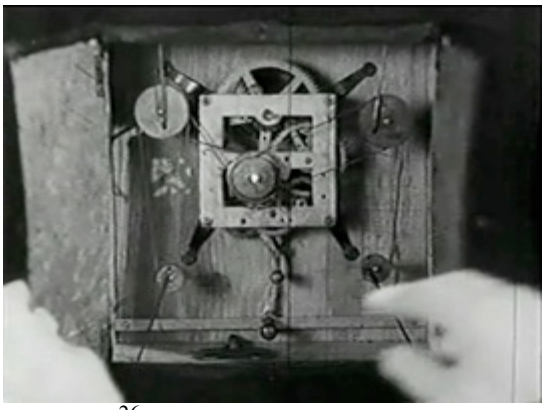


Figure 1.[26]

Figure 2.

H. D.'s analogy of the shift from silent to sound film as a shift from dolls to robots, or from a world of half-light to one of overwhelming mechanization, is upended here. In the exchange between the wind-up guard and Nancy, filmic movement without voice is

shown to be mechanical: the guard's lack of speech cues Nancy to the fact that she is trying to engage with an automaton. Like filmstrip, the automaton is set in motion by winding gears.

In Nancy's subsequent journey through the museum's scenarios, she playfully engages with the representational and material forms of the waxworks in ways that refer to the experience of silent film spectatorship. The sequence alternately revels in what silent film offers and suggests the limitations of embodied representations that cannot speak. Arzner acknowledges the affective power of verbal plasticity, removed from speech or even movement, with the first tableau, titled "Joan of Arc at the Coronation of Charles VII." As Nancy views it, her head pans from one end to the other before she collapses her shoulders in awe and focused contemplation of the wax Joan. A single shot-reverse-shot moves from Nancy's gaze at Joan to Joan's face, her eyes cast beyond the scope of the coronation scene (figures 3-4). Carl Dreyser was shooting his *Joan of Arc* (released in 1928) around the time that Arzner was shooting *Get Your Man*, and Dreyser's silent film derives most of its visual force from facial close-ups, especially of the suffering Joan. But the next wax figure—that of a rotund Henry VIII—does not similarly invoke stilled awe from Nancy. Despite a sign on view earlier in the museum's entrance, requesting that visitors not touch the exposed objects, Nancy pokes Henry VIII's stomach and giggles with glee when his countenance does not change (figure 5).

Figure 3.

Figure 4.

Figure 5.

Arzner invokes the spectatorial inclination to engage with film phenomenologically again in a later part of the waxworks sequence that is on one of the lost reels, when Nancy touches the eyeball of a Spanish Infanta wax figure (*Hollywood Series* interview). This recalls a story about early film spectatorship with which Arzner was likely familiar, that of "a woman at one of the earliest demonstrations who went and poked her fingers at the image on the screen of a girl's face, convinced the whole thing

was an impossible illusion, and that there were holes in the screen for the eyes of a real girl standing behind it."[27] In her article "Technology's Body: Cinematic Vision in Modernity," Mary Ann Doane relays this anecdote as evidence of "a certain fascination with the possibility of an imbrication of technology and the body," similar in this way to the well-known tale of the spectator who ran away from the Lumieres' moving image of a train, but more sophisticated with the "suspicion . . . that the image is only pretending to be an image" (530-31). The woman poking the screen is, for Doane, a "deviant spectator" (531) whose "gesture constitutes a fundamental denial of cinematic technology in favor of the belief that there must be a real body in there somewhere" (530). Nancy similarly enacts hands-on spectatorship in the waxworks. But whereas the anecdotal woman's act is framed as naiveté and defiance, Nancy's actions suggest a more sustained exploration. Poking Henry VIII's stomach or touching the Spanish Infanta's eyeball are not, after all, first-encounter responses; instead, Nancy playfully engages with the materiality of the waxworks *after* she has demonstrated her knowledge of how to be an appropriate spectator.[28]

The waxworks sequence returns at various points to the comic device introduced first by the mechanical guard: the initial misrecognition of wax figures for humans and vice versa. In each instance, it is voice (or its lack) that makes distinction between the two possible. When Nancy reaches "The Murder of André Giroux" tableaux, she slowly takes in the various elements: the sprawled, murdered Giroux on the floor, the apparent murderer flanked by policemen, and various observers (figure 6).[29] But when she looks more carefully at one of the observers, expecting a wax figure, she is surprised to see the

face of a familiar man turn to meet her gaze, with a shot-reverse-shot sequence tracking the pair's surprise and recognition. From narrative set-up at the start of the film, the audience knows the man to be Robert, the betrothed son of a Duke. This is Nancy and Robert's fourth random run-in of the day but the first to prompt dialogue, only some of which is shown via intertitles. The emergence from the tableaux of Robert moving and then speaking plays upon the notion of audible dialogue as "the last important step in constructing a fully represented, fully recorded humanity" (North 85). Nancy tells Robert as she recovers from the shock of the encounter, "It must be fate"—a pronouncement that we see both voiced and as intertitle. And, of course, Robert becomes Nancy's romantic interest, the man referred to in the film's title, whose capture drives the film's more dialogue-heavy narrative after the museum sequence.

Figure 6. (The two figures in the foreground with their backs turned are Nancy and Robert.)

Play on the difference between humans and wax figures extended beyond the film's diegesis and into production lore. Arzner remembers Paramount producer and executive Ben Schulberg watching film rushes of the scene with the Spanish Infanta figure:

> Marion Morgan [a choreographer and Arzner's life partner] . . . used her dancers and there were no wax figures at all. They were all live figures. . . . I had the Spanish Infanta, which was one of the dancers. . . . Clara Bow went up and touched her eyeball and . . . Ben Schulberg, who was the producer at Paramount at the time, bet $500 that that was a wax figure. And, of course, the whole staff came down after seeing the rushes, and asked where the Spanish Infanta was. And I said, "Right over there." And she was sitting on a high stool, laughing and talking to Buddy Rogers. (*Hollywood Series* interview)

Given Paramount's slowness and hesitation about the transition to sound, it must have been significant to Arzner that Schulberg witnessed such a stark transition as that from a perceived wax figure to the sights and sounds of a woman "laughing and talking."

The museum sequence reflects, too, on the "talk" of silent film—dialogic intertitles—and their visual similarity to descriptive or narrative intertitles. Kamilla Elliott explains, "in the late silent period, filmmakers . . . increased the use of legible texts within the scenes and the ratio of dialogue to narrative intertitles, so that more words appeared to arise directly from and return to the scenes" (93). This is the case in *Get Your Man*: most of the intertitles are of dialogue, intertitles that situate the viewer in

terms of locale and narrative progression are kept to a minimum (both in number and the extent of detail they convey), and clarifying text appears as part of the mise-en-scène whenever possible. But in the waxworks sequence, Arzner juxtaposes the two types of intertitles, with wooden placards to the side of each wax tableau representing descriptive intertitles (figure 7). When Nancy and Robert approach a tableau for which the placard is not immediately visible, Nancy asks Robert to identify the scene, and he somewhat patronizingly tells her—his words appearing as an intertitle—that "It's Napoleon on board the Constitution, Nelson's flagship at Waterloo" (figure 8). Nancy accepts the information with an exaggerated "Oh" and a slow nod of the head, but, as she looks at the scene more carefully, she finds its placard, which reads, "The Emperor Napoleon on Board the Bellerophon" (figure 7). She nudges Robert and points her index finger at the sign (figure 9), to which he responds with a flash of annoyance and the assertion (again, via intertitle) that "Anyway, it is Napoleon." In this exchange, Nancy momentarily illustrates the muteness of descriptive intertitles: she does not contest Robert by speaking but rather merely by pointing at the placard. Arzner's treatment of the two types of intertitles highlights the nuances of spoken dialogue, riddled as it is with affect, motivation, and error.

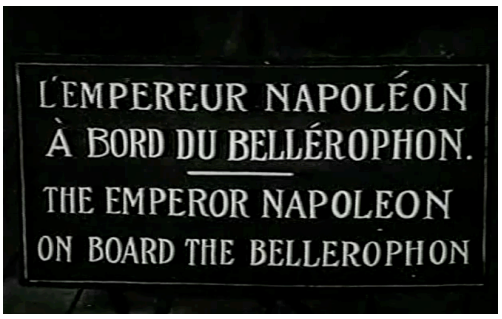


Figure 7.

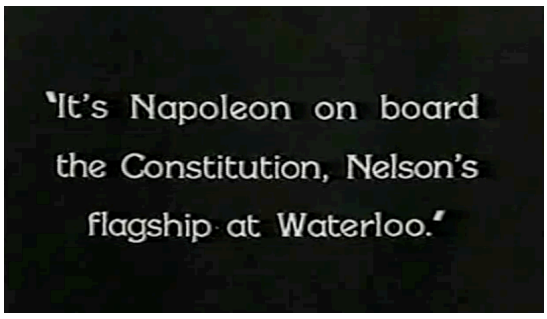


Figure 8.

Figure 9.

In *Get Your Man*, Arzner aligns silent cinema with the representational aesthetics of waxworks and mechanical figures, and the talkies with the speaking (but as of yet unheard) characters—primarily Bow's Nancy—who visit the waxworks and whose narratives extend beyond it. The sequence gestures toward corporeal voice as a new form for film, but a form engaged with the cinematic past. At the dawn of the talkies, *Get Your Man* reflects upon its own status as a silent film.

The film's interest in sound also reveals what Dominique Nasta explains as the psychological phenomenon of "subception" in silent film—when "a film sets subliminal auditive perception at the core of its narrative comprehension" and/or "when voices or music are only simulated visually" and "one has to find a justification for the inaudible sound" (107, 96). This is seen throughout the wax museum sequence and again in the film's concluding moments. The two lost reels of the film contain the remainder of the wax museum scenes (in which Robert reveals to Nancy that he is in an arranged engagement) and Nancy's staging of an automobile accident outside the palatial country

home of Robert and his father the Duke, where she is invited to recuperate. The extant later reels begin with Nancy's time in their home and her discovery that Robert's intended, Simone, also views the match as one of obligation. In the final minutes of the film, Nancy schemes to make known the emotional allegiances in the house: she lures Robert into her room by asking him to close a window, and then proceeds to pick up various pieces of furniture, slam them down on the ground, jump around the room, and jump up and down on the bed, hollering (figure 10). She also listens at the door to see if she is having the intended effect of rousing the rest of the household (figure 11). Drawn to the hoopla, Robert's father the Duke, Simone, and Simone's father enter the room as Nancy leaps into Robert's arms. During what looks to be a loud discussion that follows, the Duke calls for silence, shown by an exaggerated gesture and the intertitle "Silence!" Throughout, the audience has heard nothing but the musical accompaniment.

Figure 10.

Figure 11.

With the transition to the talkies, Arzner's pre-Code sound films bring into the filmic sensorium the speech of collegiate flappers, a vaudeville-performing German immigrant who loses her accent as she attains success as an opera star (*Sarah and Son*,

1930), a burlesque dancer turned dressmaker who is made to see a vocal coach "so I could learn the kind of English that wouldn't get on the customer's nerves" (*Anybody's Woman*, 1930), secretaries, and telegraph operators (*Working Girls* and *Honor among Lovers*, both 1931). The political implications of hearing women's voices in film have been raised by Barbara McBane, who points out that "visual film technologies were relatively stable . . . [b]y the end of the nickelodeon era," whereas "debates about women's suffrage and the increased presence of women in public spaces coincided with the period during which cinema *sound* practice was undergoing radical ferment, struggle, and change" (185). Representing the particularities of the female voice allows Arzner to connect the social situation of women more generally to the conditions of film production in particular. The homogenization of a woman's voice in both *Sarah and Son* and *Anybody's Woman*—through the removal of a foreign accent or class markers in speech patterns—recalls how studio heads often worked to limit what kinds of voices could be included in the talkies. Paramount's Jesse Lasky explained that "I look for better English and clearer enunciation as the result of the dialogue films. If all of our popular feminine stars let their hair grow long, they could end the bobbed hair vogue in short order. Slip-shod speech modes can be influenced in the same manner" (*Film Daily*, April 14, 1929; quoted in Crafton 452). While *Sarah and Son* and *Anybody's Woman* fit a narrative trajectory in which women must change how they sound in order to gain success or respect, these films do not valorize standardized voice but rather register how voice is policed. Notably starring in both films is Ruth Chatterton, a former stage actor who was added to Paramount's roster because of the studio's desire for actors with voices more in

line with the mannered, British English that Chatterton had displayed in her previous film *Madame X* (1929) for MGM (Crafton 451). Chatterton had also been assigned as a voice coach for Clara Bow during *The Wild Party* (1929), though this angered Bow and it is unclear if the coaching went forward (interview with Louise Brooks in *Hollywood*).

Bow's first speaking role would be in Arzner's first full talkie, *The Wild Party*, which opens with the visual of a banner for Winston College (a fictional women's school) and the chaotic sounds of women students socializing with one another. *The Wild Party* incorporates many scenes of women's collective chattering, singing, and laughter, an unruly acoustic experience that, at moments in the film, prompts from male characters ineffective disciplinary responses (as from Professor Gil) or mild fear (as from a cab driver transporting a group of students from a dance to a bar). These moments of vocal ruckus recall the largely female and vocal audiences for silent film that Dorothy Richardson begrudgingly describes, in an untitled "Continuous Performance" column from March 1928, as "by no means silent, in her tens of thousands" and "[a] human phenomenon, herself in excelsis" (175). Women watching silent films often did not behave as Richardson thought they should. In the piece, she writes that the vocal woman in the movie theater "does not need . . . the illusions of art to come to the assistance of her own sense of existing. . . . Not all the wiles of the most perfect art can shift her from the centre where she dwells" (176). To an extent, Richardson cannot help but admire the self-possession of women who talk while watching silent film, but they nevertheless rankle, and she tries to sit apart from their "legion" (175). The transition to the talkies, however, silences these women.[30] Arzner's awareness of the largely female audiences for film is

apparent in a 1936 interview in which she recalls a justification for her role as a director: "For the greater part of the motion-picture audience is feminine. Box-office appeal is thought of largely in terms of the women lined up at the ticket window. If there are no women directors, there ought to be" ("Distaff Side Director"). The raucous chatter of the women in *The Wild Party* can be read as empowering newly silenced audiences with displays of collective female vocality. Sound film may compel audiences to be quiet while a film plays, but Arzner shows how film itself offers a new outlet for women's voices.

Anybody's Woman and Embodied Voice

Arzner's reflexivity about sound film technology takes most significant shape in her third talking film, *Anybody's Woman* (1930), the screenplay of which was written by Arzner's frequent collaborator at Paramount, Zoë Akins.[31] Characters seeing and overhearing conversations through hotel windows begin and conclude the film. Given that by 1930 it was clear that Hollywood would phase out silent films entirely, these bookending scenes can be read as a meditation on embodied voice and sound synchronization in film, especially with regard to the filmic representation of women.

The film opens with two men—Neil and Eddie—talking in a suite at the Westlake Hotel. The sounds of a woman singing nearby waft through open windows, soon becoming distracting enough for Neil to exclaim, "For the love of heavens," and Eddie to start closing windows. Approaching the second window, Eddie becomes intrigued with the source of the noise—two women in a room across the courtyard, one singing loudly

and strumming a guitar (Pansy), the other folding laundry (Ellen)—and calls Neil over, asking him "wanna see something?" As Pansy continues to sing, the men watch the women; this is followed by a two-shot of the women framed film-like in the window (figures 12 and 13). The next shot faces Pansy directly, in a view not available to the men and begins with the line of Pansy's hard-luck song, "when your loving is blind, it's tough on you." As Pansy's song concludes, she comments to Ellen about the heat and asks her to "move that fan so that some of the sea breeze gets to me." Although their subsequent conversation isn't loud enough on its own to project across the courtyard (as Pansy's song was), the adjusted fan happens to transmit their talk so that the men can hear it clearly. As Ellen and Pansy talk about Pansy's trouble with being "too soft," not having "crust" or being able to "stand things," and Pansy explaining "every time I tried being hard-boiled, it didn't get me anywhere, except in jail once," we see that the men have ceased actively watching and instead have their ears turned toward the window. After a minute of conversation, Ellen re-adjusts the fan, telling Pansy, "So the draft wouldn't go straight through you. You know you can get a terrible cold that way, even on a hot day." This halts the audio transmission (Eddie notes to Neil, "That's funny, one of them done something to the fan—we can't hear 'em now"), and Neil turns his back to the window to ponder drunkenly, "That sort of girl is what she is. She's on the level whether you're for her or whether you're not." The men start to discuss "the trouble with women nowadays," summed up by Eddie as, "They're getting smart," and by Neil as, "They know how to be married, respected, protected, free, all at the same time." Eddie thinks it would be amusing to include the women in this conversation ("We ought to get those dames over

and let you tell 'em what you know about women—it would hand 'em a laugh anyhow"), and he rings up the hotel's telephone operator, Hazel, to ask to be connected to their room. At the same time, Pansy asks Ellen to turn the fan back her way—unknowingly making the women's conversation audible to the men once again. Eddie pauses his request to Hazel, curious to overhear more. The women's talk has turned to Pansy's cynicism about her burlesque career and opportunities in general:

> Ellen: You're on the level. I like you, but as I was saying to the boyfriend the night you lost your last job, there's something wrong about your psychology.
>
> Pansy: About my *what*?
>
> Ellen: Oh, that's a word that means anything. But *I* mean you don't click. Now why don't you buck up and make something of your opportunities?
>
> Pansy: Opportunities. You make me sick.
>
> Ellen: Well, I ain't saying you got the chance to understudy the leading lady in a new show or anything like that. But everybody can do something.
>
> Pansy: Yeah, so I've heard. Was a time a girl could try her hand at a little easy [inaudible word, likely because of film decomposition] and maybe come home with a rat prince. I've done it myself.
>
> Ellen: I never knew that.

> Pansy: Oh, I only did it when it was that or the first high window. But having tried it, I'll try jumping next time. I'm not crazy enough about living to get mine that way.
>
> Ellen: A nice girl like you shouldn't have to.
>
> Pansy: All I'm good for is to stand in the back row of a cheap show and lift up a leg to a cheap tool. It's all I know how to do and all I want to do, and I can't even get that to do half the time.
>
> Ellen: I guess you're just unlucky. Why don't you go to see one of them birds that tells you you're going by the wrong name. Maybe if you changed it, you'd get somewhere.
>
> Pansy: Yeah, where? Where's there to get? In the front row steady 'til you're 25 maybe and then what?

When Eddie finally rings the room, Pansy answers "Hello?" in a high-pitched, faux-proper tone unlike her earlier speaking voice. In the impromptu party that follows, Neil drunkenly convinces Pansy to be married that evening, an event he does not remember the next morning and that threatens his reputation. (It turns out that previously he had represented Pansy when she was jailed for being indecently clad in a burlesque show, a memory he only recalls the morning after the wedding, when he is sober.) But the pair When Eddie finally rings the room, Pansy answers "Hello?" in a high-pitched, faux-proper tone unlike her earlier speaking voice. In the impromptu party that follows, Neil drunkenly convinces Pansy to be married that evening, an event he does not remember the next morning and that threatens his reputation. (It turns out that previously he had

represented Pansy when she was jailed for being indecently clad in a burlesque show, a memory he only recalls the morning after the wedding, when he is sober.) But the pair reach the decision to stay married and begin a modern partnership, prefaced with Neil's suggestion, "you do just as you please, and so will I."

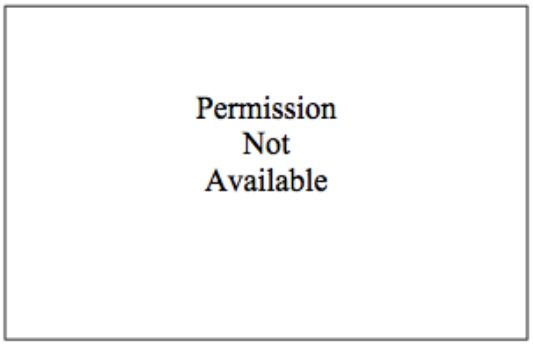


Figure 12.*

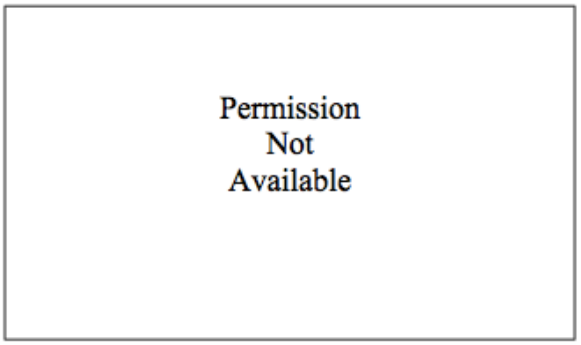


Figure 13.

The film's opening scene clearly refers to and explores its medium, with the fan thematizing sound film technology. Arzner explores how voice can complicate and enhance narrative film's depiction of gendered subjectivity on screen. At one level, the men watching and hearing the women through the window frames could be read as an early reflection on the workings of the male gaze in Hollywood film: the film audience is at first positioned voyeuristically with the men, viewing over their shoulders. But Arzner counters such a mapping, especially through the employment of voice. In one respect, the men are outside viewers, looking in, but we are made visually aware of the limitations of

* Figures 12-14 can be viewed, courtesy of Universal Studios Licensing LLC, in Sara Bryant, "Dorothy Arzner's Talkies: Gender, Technologies of Voice, and the Modernist Sensorium," *Modern Fiction Studies 59.2* (2012): 346-72. Figure 12 appears as figure 4 on p. 360, figure 13 appears as figure 5 on p. 361, and figure 14 appears as figure 6 on p. 365.

their view and how they, too, are framed and in two directions (from the audience's view and from outside *their* hotel room window). More crucially, transmission of the women's voices transverses demarcations of interior and exterior, and public and private life, but in such a way that Pansy's voicing of her situation does not make her vulnerable to the men, but only to Ellen. (Ellen's social status is similar to Pansy's: when Pansy answers the phone, Ellen tells her, "You answer it. I'm out. But don't tell 'em how much"). As eavesdroppers on a private conversation, the men—like audiences for the talkies—do not function as direct listeners would; the women do not take them into account when speaking and they do not have the power of response (or nonresponse). Mladen Dolar writes that, for both speakers and listeners, "a voice presents an excess, a surplus of authority on the one hand and a surplus of exposure on the other" (81). In this scene, Pansy retains the authority of the voice and experiences exposure only in relation to Ellen; the men are granted neither authority nor exposure as unseen listeners.

Dorothy Richardson argued that film speech for women would function as a "façade" and preclude filmic meditation on "awareness of being." But we hear the women voiced in at least three registers, dependent upon the intended audience: the initial song (which is likely practice for a burlesque act; its refrain is "got a man on my mind all night and day"), the critical and "on the level" dialogue between the women that follows, and, finally, Pansy's high-pitched, parodic polite tone when she answers the phone. The scene tracks voice's transition from performance, to critical "awareness of being," to mannered façade. The women, too, control (however unknowingly) how much of their private talk is transmitted: while Pansy's song can be overheard without amplification,

Pansy and Ellen's subsequent dialogue is audible to the men (and the film audience) only when the women happen to turn the fan in the right direction. Arzner's play with visual framing and sound transmission in this opening scene poses—in the early years of classical cinema—a distinct kind of filmic embodied voice for women.

Film theorists concerned with gender, from Richardson and H. D. to, more recently, Kaja Silverman, have often viewed embodied filmic voice as constraining women—either as audience members kept from "creative consciousness" and silent contemplation, forced into a voiced realm read as male (Richardson), unable to "add imagination to a mask" (H. D.), or as film subjects for whom synchronization of image and voice ties a subject to a gendered body "at the price of its own impoverishment and entrapment" (Silverman 141). Avant-garde, or modernist film, of the latter half of the twentieth century challenges this constraint. In her foundational text on film and the female voice, *The Acoustic Mirror* (1988), Kaja Silverman aligns classical cinema with women's embodied voice, confining women to "the signifying obligations" of "the male gaze" (164), and feminist avant-garde cinema with women's disembodied voice, allowing for discursive distance.[32] This leads her toward suspicion of synchronization of women's bodily presence with voice and celebration of techniques that formally, often radically, severe voice from a woman's body. Silverman is, in part, responding to and resisting Luce Irigaray's "dreams of forging an existential or indexical relation between words and the female body" (145), explaining that "[b]ecause [Irigaray] believes that feminine language is capable both of relating indexically to the female body and of being isomorphic with it, she fails to distinguish adequately between the real body and the

discursive body" (145). In her resistance, however, Silverman risks conflating indexical and isomorphic connections between voiced language and body. She reads synchronized speech in film similarly to how Mary Ann Doane had previously, as "bind[ing] the voice to a body in a unity" or "oneness," as "the mark of a mastery and control" (345). The theoretical underpinnings of such approaches accord in surprising ways with Richardson's and H. D.'s profound interest, almost a half-century earlier, in maintaining the purity of cinema in its silent mode.

These positions do not allow for what Stanley Cavell, a talkie enthusiast himself, calls "[t]he poetry of synchronized speech" (105). For him, "A world of sound is a world of immediate conviction; a world of sight is a world of immediate intelligibility. In neither is imagination called upon . . . . The advent of sound broke the spell of immediate intelligibility—a realistic renunciation, given the growing obscurity of the world" (150). Voice's synchronization with image in the opening scene of *Anybody's Woman* works against "immediate intelligibility" about the women onscreen, especially Pansy. The men, positioned similarly to the cinema audience, are not as interested in watching the women as continually eavesdropping on their talk and, eventually, talking *with* them. Although Neil and Eddie's invitation of the women to a "party" could be read as acquisitional and does end with a shotgun wedding (which we hear about only after the fact), what we observe of the party consists largely of conversation. (And throughout the film, Pansy and Neil's relationship is very much desexualized.)

Rather than mandating a simple and constricting unity, voice synchronization for Arzner makes possible narrative exploration of voice's complex relationship to

subjectivity. In *A Voice and Nothing More*, Dolar revisits the concept of acousmatic voice in film, first explored at length by Michel Chion in 1982:

> The acousmatic voice is simply a voice whose source one cannot see, a voice whose origin cannot be identified, a voice one cannot place. It is a voice in search of an origin, in search of a body, but even when it finds its body, it turns out that this doesn't quite work, the voice doesn't stick to the body, it is an excrescence which doesn't match the body. (Dolar 60-61)[33]

Chion examines what he calls disacousmatization in film—the process whereby the acousmatic voice eventually becomes linked to its bodily source—with results ranging from, in *The Wizard of Oz*, the "great and powerful" Oz's deflation into the man behind the curtain to, in *Psycho*, the horror of finding out that the mother's voice emits from Norman Bates's body. Dolar argues, however, that "there is no such thing as disacousmatization," that *all* voice is "irretrievably" acousmatic, that the voice's emanation from the body means that we can never really visually identify its source. He writes that "[T]he cinema is based on fitting sight to sound, bringing together both halves, re-creating the seamless flow of the visible and the audible, but in the very endeavor to make them tally it appears that, at immutable margins, they do not fit" (65). This disconnect applies to the visual and aural apprehension of any speaking subject, and sound film is especially well-poised to investigate it.

By the late 1920s and early 1930s, the displacement of voice from the human body had become commonplace. "Radio, gramophone, tape-recorder, telephone: with the advent of the new media the acousmatic property of the voice became universal, and

hence trivial," Dolar observes (63). At this point, the form of the talkies made possible new and complex explorations of voice's acousmatic quality. Sound synchronization allows film characters to be represented simultaneously as situated (in a particular place, possessing a particular body) but still unknowable and surprising. Dolar writes:

> The acousmatic voice combines the two levels, the voice and the gaze, for the voice, as opposed to the gaze, does not conceal, it is given in a seeming immediacy and immediately penetrates interiority, it cannot quite be held at bay. Thus the deception lies in the inability to find its match in the visible, in the gap between which always persists between the two, in the impossibility of their coordination, so that the visible as such can start to function as the veil of the voice. (78)

The extent to which the voiced and the visible cannot be coordinated, or "welded" as H. D. fears, is made apparent by Arzner in what could be read initially as a damning synchronization of voice and body. In the following shot, the camera directly faces Pansy, her leg slung over a leg of the chair and the hole of her ukulele placed suggestively (figure 14), as she wryly comments, "all I'm good for is to stand in the back row of a cheap show and lift up a leg to a cheap tool; it's all I know how to do and all I want to do, and I can't even get that to do half the time." For Chion, the final stage of disacousmatization is seeing the mouth from which the voice originates, or what he describes as "this black hole, this dispenser of life, this cavity that threatens to devour everything" (128). Arzner traces the transmitted voice to the image of its source, revealing the speaking mouth and suggesting its psychoanalytic correlate by way of the

ukulele's "cavity." But the synchronization of image and voice does not ultimately reduce Pansy to her gendered body, nor does it suggest that the origin of Pansy's voice has been visually revealed. Rather, the synchronization of voice and image that Pansy orchestrates introduces her critical and reflective distance, which is highlighted throughout the film's narrative.

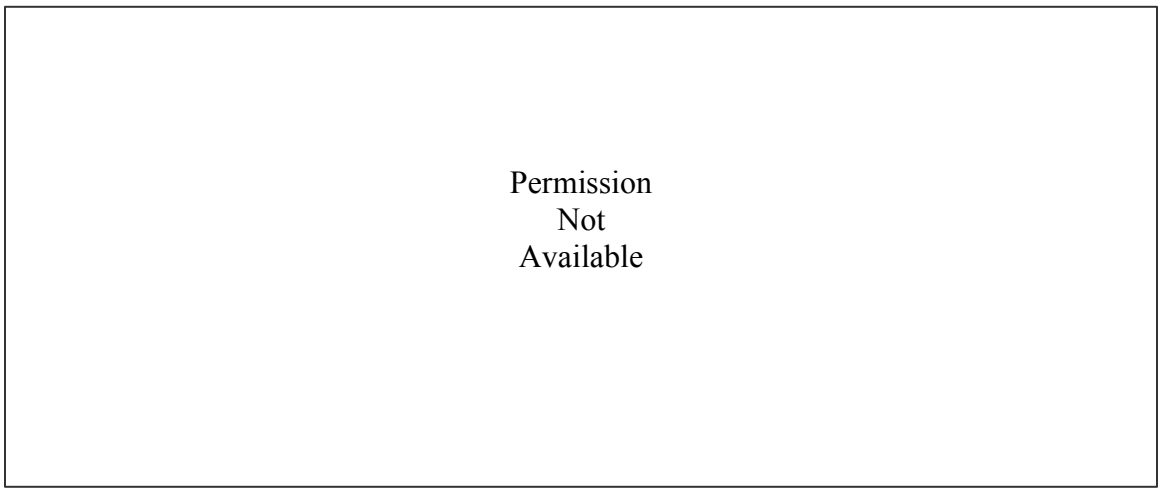


Figure 14.

The film's final scenes reinforce the alignment of fans with sound film technology. During Pansy's dinner in a hotel room with Gustave, this new male companion attempts to turn on a reading lamp's second bulb but the action instead activates a fan in the room. After Gustave pulls the lamp chain, we see a low-angle close-up underneath the lampshade with two sockets but only one bulb and then a shot of a fan starting, as it is apparently circuited to the lamp. Neil happens to be occupying a hotel room nearby and, by way of the fan, overhears Pansy and Gustave's conversation and Gustave's declaration of love for Pansy. When Gustave leaves the room for a business

call, Neil sets up a fan and a lamp, as if preparing a film set, and sits in a chair in front of his room's window. Both visible and audible to Pansy, he stages his side of a conversation with an imaginary interlocutor, explaining how much he misses Pansy. Hearing him, she leans out the window and calls to him, to which he responds, "I must see you, I want to talk to you"; they meet and embrace in the hallway and the film ends.

In these scenes, Arzner invokes sound film technology that provided a more seamless unity of sight and sound than the Vitaphone technology of the earliest talkies such as *The Jazz Singer*: sound-on-film. Vitaphone required wax sound discs to be synchronized with filmstrip, which often resulted in synchronization problems at individual theaters. Movietone's sound-on-film technology "transform[ed] the electric current produced by microphones into a pulsating light source which exposes photographic film stock in proportion to the intensity of the original sound" (Crafton 32)—thus making light the source for visual and auditory recording on the same filmstrip. The linkage of the fan and the lamp suggest not only the transmission of "sound by light pulses" for recording, but also how, during projection, "[s]ound is reproduced by passing the film's optical sound track past a constant-intensity beam of light from a small lamp as the filmstrip moves through the projector" (Crafton 33).

Of the electric fans, a *New York Times* reviewer wrote, "This more or less ingenious notion can be accepted in an earlier episode, but when it crops up again in the climactic sequence the result is emphatically disappointing" (Hall). But as is the case with many of Arzner's films, an initially dissatisfying or seemingly incomplete ending can be read as a means to retain some suggestion of or desire for otherwise foreclosed

narrative directions.[34] The parallel scenes at the start and end of *Anybody's Woman* suggest divergent possibilities for the talkies—the introductory scene exploring filmic embodied voice's representational possibilities, and the concluding scene limiting its use to re-uniting the central couple and achieving a pat Hollywood ending. In other words, the bookending scenes argue against technological determinism.[35]

* * *

In her untitled March 1928 "Continuous Performance" column, Dorothy Richardson wrote: "Among the gifts showered upon humanity by the screen and already too numerous to be counted, none has been more eagerly welcomed than the one bestowed upon the young woman who is allowed to shine from its surface just as she is" (174). But for Arzner, especially in her pre-Code talkies, film's representation of a woman "just as she is" integrated both visual "surface" and voice. The properties of voice—the ultimate untraceability of its origin, its transit between bodily interiors and exteriors and between private and public social spaces—allowed for the representation of situated and embodied subjects who could express alterity and resistance to visual and social classifications. In *Anybody's Woman*, on the morning after the quick wedding, all that Neil remembers of Pansy is that he was the lawyer who got her out of jail after her obscenity charge; when he learns about their wedding, he responds with an incredulous "*You*? *You*? My wife?" Pansy answers with a hurt but defiant "Yes, *me*"—a voiced identification that both places and displaces her, that acknowledges her social position while indicating that her subjectivity cannot be reduced to it. Cavell argues that "the poetry of synchronized speech . . . arises from the fact that just that creature, in just those

surroundings, is saying just that, just now" (105). Synchronized speech in film allows Arzner to portray women without universalizing notions of gender or reducing subjectivity to gender. Not only does Arzner suggest that Pansy is not anybody's woman, but also that we can't perceive her as just *any* woman.

Archival recovery of Arzner's pre-Code films reveals an alternative approach to the relationship between sound synchronization in film and gendered identification. Within the classical film form, her films embed unusual moments that reflect upon and realize a non-constrictive unified sensorium. Her work negotiates not only the technological changes of the late 1920s and early 1930s and the introduction of voice to film, but also explores how film could best engage with notions of gender and subjectivity. She does this, too, at the level of mass culture: in a 1976 interview at Diablo Valley College, she critiques artists who "lose touch with people," who "become so individual that they stay separate," and speaks of her desire "to really know what the masses experience and feel. I've always said I love the mass audience." Within the global vernacular of the talkies, and against the aesthetic resistance of the avant-garde, Arzner creates a reflective and resonant specificity of voice.

Notes
Chapter 1

[1] My use of the term "vernacular modernism" relies upon Miriam Hansen's foundational article, "The Mass Production of the Senses: Classical Cinema as Vernacular Modernism," in which "vernacular combines the dimension of the quotidian, of everyday usage, with connotations of discourse, idiom, and dialect, with circulation, promiscuity, and translatability" (333).

[2] Marcus writes: "Dorothy Richardson shared with many women writers and critics a perception that silent film had been an essentially female form. While the responses of critics and commentators during the transition period did not divide absolutely along gendered lines, and the representation of sound film was indeed ambivalently gendered (we recall the image of the mechanical, chattering, female speaking body) there was a great marked hostility among women writers to sound technology, and a greater degree of regret for the loss of silent film" (406).

[3] I am deeply indebted to Judith Mayne's comprehensive study *Directed by Dorothy Arzner*, which provided significant guidance in my research. I should note that the films I analyze at most depth in this article, *Get Your Man* (1927) and *Anybody's Woman* (1930), are among the few that Mayne does not discuss at length, given their archive-only status and Mayne's decision to "focus on films that are currently in distribution" (*Directed* 7). About Arzner's birthdate, Mayne explains: "Her year of birth is listed alternatively as 1897, 1898, and 1900. According to one anecdote, her birth records were destroyed in the San Francisco fire, and she decided to list 1900 as her official birthdate, thus defining

herself quite literally as a 'modern' woman, fully a part of the twentieth century. The earlier dates are, however, more realistic" (*Directed* 15).

[4] Vorkapić contributed a number of such sequences to Hollywood films, including at least another of Arzner's films, *Christopher Strong* (1933). See Kay and Perry 163.

[5] For production and reception history of *Glorifying the American Girl*, see Jenkins 159-61 and Barrios 194-98. After various director and cast changes and over 25 rewrites, *Glorifying the American Girl*, directed by Millard Webb, was finally released in December 1929 as a full talkie with occasional scenes in Technicolor (Jenkins 160).

[6] See Acker 21 and Stenn 160. Arzner discusses the fishpole microphone in her Hollywood Series interview. In film lore, Arzner vies for the distinction of inventing the boom microphone with a handful of others, including actor and director Lionel Barrymore and Eddie Mannix, Louis B. Mayer's assistant (Crafton 241-42).

[7] All of Arzner's sound films still exist, but most are difficult to access. The Paramount talkies are held in UCLA's film archives; only *Merrily We Go To Hell* has been released on DVD (in 2009 by the Universal Backlot series in the Pre-Code Hollywood Collection). Each of the non-Paramount films (except for *First Comes Courage*) was released on VHS at some point and copies occasionally can be found in libraries or for purchase online. *Christopher Strong* and *Dance, Girl, Dance* have been released on DVD, and the latter is also available on iTunes.

[8] See Mayne *Directed* 86-89 for a detailed account of 1970s scholarship on and tributes to Arzner.

[9] See Rodowick esp. ch. 2, Cavell 60-61 and 215-19, and Rothman esp. 328-29.

[10] Bryher sees this boredom as more consequential in England than in the U.S.: "[A] Californian for example, reacts quickly and forgets easily. If the movies become monotonous he will drop them for a time but one day he will give them another chance. A Londoner continues going longer from sheer habit, until one day he makes up his mind he is bored and will never watch the screen again" ("The Hollywood Code [II]" 281).

[11] See Donald, Friedberg, and Marcus, *Close Up 1927-1933: Cinema and Modernism* 79-82.

[12] Bryher, in her writings for *Close Up*, became critical of Hollywood ("The Hollywood Code" I and II) but does not address gender, nor do any of her articles have a sustained focus on sound. But in her 1962 memoir, she writes that the first years of *Close Up* were "the golden age of what I call 'the art that died' because sound ruined its development" (247). She explains further that "It was part of 'the art that died' because these small pictures [made by avant-garde cinema groups in Europe] were training the directors and cameramen of the future as the 'little reviews' had trained the writers but sound came in, nobody could continue on account of the expense and by 1934 *Close Up* and about sixty of these groups had ceased to exist" (265).

[13] From 1924-1935, many smaller studios consolidated to form the big five: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (1924), RKO (1928), Warner Brothers (1929), Twentieth Century-Fox (1935), and Paramount (1935). Universal (1915), United Artists (1919), and Columbia (1922) did not consolidate but "continued to develop as sophisticated corporations, with integrated links to theater chains and distribution companies" (Starr 277). Much of this corporate consolidation and development is bound up with film sound technology and the

market success of the talkies. Women directors were much more common in the first few decades of filmmaking, but "when executive control and financial legitimacy became paramount, women disappeared" (Mahar 3).

[14] For critiques of Kittler's schematization of discourse networks, see Sebastian and Geerke 583-95 and Danius 44-46.

[15] This view of vocal sound is not limited to Richardson's writings on film. It appears, too, in her multivolume, strongly autobiographical novel series *Pilgrimage*. The series presents female phenomenological experience through the character of Miriam Henderson, who often is acutely sensitive to the human voice.

[16] For an extended analysis of H. D.'s approach to automata in this piece and a discussion about how her reception of the cinema was "shaped by the aesthetics of the ritualized, non-representational and poetic theatre, including the mime-theatre, of the 1910s," see Marcus 37-43 (43).

[17] The image of a female robot on screen would have been fresh in H. D.'s mind—Fritz Lang's *Metropolis*, a silent film, had been released in Europe and the U. S. earlier in 1927. In the first issue of *Close Up* (July 1927), Kenneth Macpherson's prefatory editorial column "As Is" mentions *Metropolis* and the "tour de force" of actress Brigitte Helm's portrayal of the mechanical Maria's "ecstatic robot life" (38).

[18] While H. D. admitted enthusiastically of the global political and educational possibilities of sound film, she couldn't bring herself to advocate for it within the realm of art, writing, "But somehow no. There is a great no somewhere. The Movietone has to

do with the things outside the sacred precincts. There is something inside that the Movietone would eventually I think, destroy utterly, for many of us" (119).

[19] The other films on the program were Lotte Reiniger's animated *Cinderella* (1924), Germaine Dulac's surrealist *The Seashell and the Clergyman* (1929), and Olga Preobrashenskaja's *The Peasant Women of Riazan* (1927). See *The Film Society Programmes*.

[20] These two sentences form a brief entry in Clifford Howard's Feb. 1929 "Hollywood Notes": "Dorothy Arzner is directing Clara Bow in her first talking picture, The Wild Party. This, also, is Miss Arzner's initial phonofilm venture" (89).

[21] Arzner said the character was based on British aviatrix Amy Johnson, but American audiences were reminded of Amelia Earhart (Mayne *Directed* 117).

[22] The archival source film is held at the Library of Congress. The film is missing two reels of six; there is also some nitrate decomposition in the extant film. The film was adapted for the screen by Hope Loring from the play by Louis Verneuil.

[23] Although a successful screenwriter previous to directing, Arzner—per the studio system—did not direct her own scripts. Instead she was matched with a completed script or with a treatment and a screenwriter.

[24] Insofar as these sequences can stand apart conceptually from the films as wholes, and oftentimes have a slightly discordant relationship to the film's narrative—pulling our attention elsewhere and focusing it differently for awhile—we can consider them as relatively autonomous reflections on film technology; not crucial, in their details, to a film's story or chances of box-office success, but generally not detrimental to them

either.

[25] See especially Schwartz, "The Musée Grévin: Museum and Newspaper in One" and "From *Journal plastique* to *Journal lumineux*: Early Cinema and Spectacular Reality," (ch. 3 and ch. 5).

[26] My on-site research at the US Copyright Office in Washington DC revealed that *Get Your Man* is in the public domain. The film was copyrighted by Paramount Famous Players Lasky Corp. in December 1927, but the copyright was never renewed.

[27] Chanan (15) quoted in Doane, "Technology's Body" (530).

[28] Nancy's investigatory and sometimes tactile approach to the wax figures also recalls Arzner's experience with photographic and film technology. Even prior to her work as a director, her extensive work in film editing—splicing together still frames to achieve continuity of movement—had immersed her in considerations about the possibilities and limitations of visual technology.

[29] This tableaux might slyly refer to still photography. André Giroux was a French painter turned photographer, known for retouching his negatives to achieve a more painterly effect. His father, Alphonse Giroux, was a maker of photographic equipment for Louis-Jacque-Mandé, the inventor of the daguerreotype process. André and his father published materials about the process. There is no historical record of André Giroux being murdered—he died in 1979, at the age of 78. See Canguilhem 590-92. The staging of Giroux's murder could be read as obscured commentary on film's phenomenological engagement with movement, contra still photography's capture of a single, past moment.

[30] Richardson claims that "perhaps . . . the only thing . . . to be said for the film that can

be heard as well as seen is that it puts the audience in its place" (untitled [March 1928] 175).

[31] Akins wrote the screenplays for the Arzner-directed *Sarah and Son* (1930), *Anybody's Woman* (1930), *Working Girls* (1931), and *Christopher Strong* (1933).

[32] Silverman's filmic evidence focuses primarily on films with male voiceover narrators, although she writes that this "is not the only mechanism through which classic cinema manages to associate its male characters with enunciative authority" (164). None of Arzner's films, notably, have voiceover narrators, male or female.

[33] Acousmatic "was apparently the name assigned to a Pythagorean sect whose followers would listen to their Master speak behind a curtain, as the story goes, so that the sight of the speaker wouldn't distract them from the message" (Chion 19). Chion takes this term from Pierre Schaeffer's *Traité des objets musicaux* (1966).

[34] For a queer studies reading of Arzner's conclusion to her 1936 film *Craig's Wife*, see Mayne, "Lesbian Looks: Dorothy Arzner and Female Authorship."

[35] As Steve Wurtzler argues, "any ideological effect with respect to subjectivity is not fixed and inevitably determined by technology or representational practices" (103).

Chapter Two:

Joyce's "soundseemetery": The Zukofsky-Reisman *Ulysses* Screenplay and Global Talk in the 1930s

A wealth of scholarship explores Joyce's relationship to silent film, ranging from his experience in 1909 running the Volta cinema in Dublin to the formal affinities between his fiction and visual techniques such as montage.[1] Joyce's work, too, has been considered alongside other technologies of perception that separated the early twentieth-century sensorium, such as the gramophone and photography. Work on Joyce and filmic sound, however, has been scant and limited mostly to analyses of film versions of *Ulysses* (1922) produced in 1967 and 2004, although the bulk of *Ulysses*'s mass reception during Joyce's life (after the bans against it were lifted in the US and the UK in 1933 and 1936, respectively) and the composition of much of *Finnegans Wake* (1939) happened after the shift from silent film to the talkies in the late 1920s.

Even scholarship that aims to consider not only sight but sound in relation to the novel continues the longstanding trend of aligning *Ulysses*—and modernism more generally—with the visuality of silent film. In her study on *The Senses of Modernism*, Sara Danius claims that *Ulysses* "reflects and reinscribes a social history of the sensorium" (178) in which sight and aurality have already been separated by way of modern perceptual technologies. She maps how these two senses engage autonomously with the phenomenal world that Joyce's novel navigates, and in ways conditioned by visual and aural technologies such as silent cinema and the telephone. Her arguments take into consideration how abstractions of visuality and aurality "mutually defin[e] one

another" (159), but her central point is that visuality divided from aurality prevails as a perceptual—and cinematic—mode in *Ulysses*. Her study tends to pay attention to sound only insofar as it is rendered to be a sensorially separate experience—for instance, exploring at length the parallel between Stephen testing the "ineluctable modality of the visible" (3.1) and the "ineluctable modality of the audible" (3.13) on Sandymount strand and, later, Bloom helping a blind man across the street and pondering how different urban phenomenal experience would be without sight.

This focus only on sight and sound in isolation from one another does not take into account reported speech, which is plentiful in the novel, nor the extent to which voices and other sounds are shown to be inextricably, if sometimes hazily, embodied. Danius poses *Ulysses* as "a modernist monument to the eye and the ear" and to the "technological changes" that affected them, "both an index and enactment of the increasing differentiation of the senses, particularly sight and hearing" (149). While clearly Joyce was interested in representing the workings of the modern sensorium, Danius risks reading *Ulysses* as primarily an "index" or catalog of modern experience as opposed to a sustained act of literary creation in which writing functions as a mediating technology.

That "a phenomenology of pure perception" (Danius 164) is not Joyce's ultimate aim is apparent throughout the novel's latter half, comprised of "wholesale experimentation" (Trotter 90).[2] Joyce's novelistic aims do not line up precisely with how technology was refiguring the sensorium during the time that *Ulysses* was being composed. With the technology of writing, Joyce was able to intercede and rewrite

sensorial possibilities. Moreover, the massive technological shift toward the reintegration of sight and sound represented by the talkies must also be taken into account for Joyce's writing—for how he interpreted *Ulysses* during its reception in the 1930s and for the work on *Finnegans Wake* that occurred from the late 1920s until its publication in 1941.

In this chapter, I argue that Joyce throughout his career was aesthetically and politically invested in the vocalizing body and its textual figuration. He was cannier about voice—its circulation among situated bodies, its transmission by multiple modern technologies, its relationship to textual production—than is allowed by an interpretation of *Ulysses* as simultaneously "indexing" and "enacting" a sensorial divide. I trace this argument primarily through an investigation of Joyce's specific encounters with sound film theory and practice: a meeting with the avant-garde Soviet filmmaker Sergei M. Eisenstein in 1929 and, later, sustained engagement with a scripted adaptation of *Ulysses* as a talkie for Hollywood, written by the New York Objectivist poets Louis Zukofsky and Jerry Reisman from 1932-1935. The screenplay highlights the importance and underlying structure of speech that, throughout many of the novel's episodes, is diegetically embodied and audible. *Ulysses*, however, approaches voice in ways that Zukofsky and Reisman's script could not accommodate. The screenplay project—largely through its shortcomings—taught Joyce about possible ways to mediate the reception of *Ulysses* in the 1930s and about ways to experiment further with the concept of voice in *Finnegan's Wake*.

Meeting Eisenstein

James Joyce met once with Eisenstein, in November 1929 at Joyce's Paris flat. As David Trotter writes, this meeting "has assumed folkloric status in discussions of the relation between modernist literature and early cinema" (87), a claim that holds true especially for scholarship that traces formal affinities between Joyce's *Ulysses* and the film technique of montage, of which Eisenstein was a significant practitioner and theorist. As Joseph Kelly sums up, "Critics today take it for granted that film techniques and Joyce's techniques in *Ulysses* are connected, and most will admit the resemblance between Joyce's method of narration and the montage of Sergei Eisenstein" (521). The meeting, however, proves suggestive about aesthetic approaches to vocalization across film and literature because of Eisenstein's then-recent writings that advocate for non-synchronicity between image and sound in film. The meeting hangs over any inquiry into Joyce and cinematic sound.[3] Although such inquiries have been few, they tend to imply that the meeting indicates an affinity between Eisenstein's approach to sound in film and Joyce's views on the subject.[4] But the only extant accounts of the meeting derive from Eisenstein, as conveyed to others or written in his autobiography. The varied versions, moreover, reveal Eisenstein's somewhat amorphous anxieties centering on vocalized literature and technologies of voice.

A brief review of Eisenstein's interest in both film sound and Joyce's work will help to explain what might have been at stake for the filmmaker. Eisenstein, in varied writings of the late 1920s and 1930s, championed Joyce's *Ulysses* as approaching literature in ways "kindred" to Eisenstein's goals in film (*IM* 214)—from dialectic

montage elements both visual and aural to intense interest in the development of "inner monologue." At the time when he met Joyce in Paris, Eisenstein would have been grappling with the aesthetics of sound film and eager to claim literary implications for his recently published audio-visual theory. In August 1928, Eisenstein with V. I. Pudovkin and G. V. Alexandrov published "A Statement" about sound film, "the silent thing that has learned to talk" (257). Soon translated and published in various journals, including Macpherson and Bryher's *Close Up: A Quarterly Devoted to the Art of Films*, the statement made the now-familiar avant-garde claim that visuality synchronized with sound in film "may not only hinder the development and perfection of the cinema as an art, but also threatens to destroy all its present formal achievements" (257).[5]

But instead of dismissing the possibilities of film sound altogether, the authors propose an aesthetic of "distinct non-synchronization," "an orchestral counterpoint of visual and aural images" (258), as a means of progressing the art of film montage and distinguishing it from "talking films . . . in which sound recording will proceed on a naturalistic level" (258). Sound, then, should be deliberately set in some degree of discord to the accompanying visual experience onscreen, largely precluding depictions of embodied voice. The more specific danger of synchronized sound for Eisenstein, Pudovkin, and Alexandrov is that it would bring "inertia" to a montage piece by "increas[ing] the independence of its meaning" (258). In other words, synchronized sound would threaten what were thought to be universally resonant films with specificity—with geographic settings, intricate nuances of culture, and characterization. Joyce, of course, did not feel threatened by such specificity, as is evidenced simply by

perusing Don Gifford's voluminous annotations of *Ulysses* or Roland McHugh's of *Finnegans Wake*.

The "Statement" on sound was composed by filmmakers who at the time were not able to experiment directly with sound film production and only could follow the work that was happening elsewhere. In the U.S.S.R. sound in film would not be feasible for production or screening for many years (Werner 493, Montagu 26-28). As Ivor Montagu writes of Eisenstein and his fellow directors, "They had ideas [about sound] but they could not use them" (27).[6]

In August 1929, Eisenstein, Eduard Tisse, and Alexandrov were granted a year's leave from filmmaking in the U.S.S.R. in order to explore sound film. Eisenstein spent a handful of months traveling in Europe, mostly between Paris and London, where he met with Gaumount (the French film company), Joyce, and G. B. Shaw, among others, and gave lectures to the Film Society of London.[7] Eisenstein also began to angle toward Hollywood. On an exploratory trip to the U.S., the English filmmaker Ivor Montagu was able to convince Paramount's head of production, Jesse Lasky, to meet with Eisenstein when Lasky next visited Paris. This led to a contract with Paramount for Eisenstein, who left to Hollywood in the late spring of 1930; he was joined by Tisse and Alexandrov as well as Montagu and his wife Georgia Hale.[8]

Sound in film, then, was a major preoccupation for Eisenstein when he met with Joyce. Marie Seton, Eisenstein's biographer, notes of the men's meeting, "In Joyce, Eisenstein found a man to whom his aim and methods were intelligible. They talked of the future development of their mutual preoccupation—the 'inner monologue'—how the

processes of the mind could be made visible and comprehensible through the film medium" (149). In 1932, Eisenstein would publish "A Course in Treatment," which argues that "inner monologue" is formed most distinctly through audio-visual montage: the "quivering inner words" "contrasting with the almost complete absence of outer action: a feverish inner debate behind the stony mask of the face" (105). This essay also refers briefly to the meeting with Joyce:

> Literature's most brilliant achievement in this field has been the immortal 'inner monologues' of Leopold Bloom in *Ulysses*. When Joyce and I met in Paris, he was intensely interested in my plans for the inner film-monologue, with a far broader scope than is afforded by literature.
>
> Despite his almost total blindness, Joyce wished to see those parts of *Potemkin* and *October* that, with the expressive means of film culture, move along kindred lines. (104)

It remains unknown, however, if Joyce partook of Eisenstein's sense of shared aesthetic direction. The material that comprises his biography was relayed to Seton by Eisenstein (Seton 15). No specifics have been recorded about Joyce's views on Eisenstein's film theories. Gösta Werner writes that Joyce "does not seem to have been deeply impressed by Eisenstein. As far as is known he never referred to their meeting" (503).[9]

The extant accounts of the meeting were written by Eisenstein (briefly in 1932 and at more length in 1946), as well as conveyed to Seton (between 1932-1935) and to Ivor Montagu (in the early 1930s). The accounts differ as to what piece of his writing Joyce shared aloud with Eisenstein and, more crucially, whether the piece was vocalized

by Joyce in the present or by playing a previously recorded reading. Montagu recalls that Eisenstein "told us of Joyce's gentleness, of his expressive voice that in reading parts of *Work in Progress* would make them seem beautiful and sound momentarily limpid clear however puzzling and impenetrable they might be in print" (29). Seton writes that Joyce read aloud *Ulysses*, as opposed to *Work in Progre*ss (which would be published in 1941 as *Finnegans Wake*). The clarifying power of Joyce's voice is noted here as well: although Eisenstein had read *Ulysses* more than once and "thought that he had grasped its subtle nuances," only with Joyce's vocalization "did its words and images take on their full significance." But in his autobiography, written years later in 1946, Eisenstein reveals that what he heard in Joyce's presence was a gramophone recording of Joyce reading "Anna Livia Plurabelle," a portion of *Work in Progress* that Joyce had published separately in October 1928.

Eisenstein begins his account of the meeting with its conclusion, when he recognizes the extent of Joyce's poor eyesight: Joyce, trying to retrieve Eisenstein's overcoat, is instead "waiving his hand strangely about, as if rummaging in the air" (214). The rest of the recollection is filtered through this delayed realization and presented out of temporal order. The vocal reading is addressed last and concludes the chapter on "Intellectual Cinema":

> . . . the even voice of Joyce reads me a fragment . . .
>
> "But was Joyce indeed blind?" some attentive and benevolent female reader will say here, and I stress female, for only a female reader will pay attention to it.

> Calm down, female reader.
>
> I said, "The voice of Joyce," not "Joyce."
>
> For it is his voice that reads it . . . from a record on the gramophone, which Joyce is winding.
>
> "Anna Livia Plurabelle" had not long ago been published as a tiny booklet in a separate edition, and this fragment Joyce had recorded.
>
> As I listen, I follow the articulated text on a giant meter-wide sheet of paper, filled with gigantic lines of gigantic letters.
>
> It was by these tables of enlargements from the miniature pages of the little book that Joyce, with difficulty, reinforced his memory when making the disc.
>
> By exaggerated dimensions of the miniature pages of the miniature booklet fragment!
>
> How in character that is with the author! How in tune with that magnifying glass with which he scans the microscopic convolutions of the mysteries of literary language! How symbolic for the path of his roaming along the winding inner movement of emotion and the inner structure of internal speech! (214-15)

Eisenstein here has nothing to say about the elucidating effect of Joyce's voice or its quality, beyond that it is "even." In the interval between Eisenstein's earlier tellings of this story and his 1946 autobiography, it seems as though someone had questioned Eisenstein about how Joyce could have read aloud at length given his eye troubles.

Eisenstein both points out and resists the significance of this oversight by an odd deflection: he makes attention to sensorial engagement with texts a gendered issue and thus one he can discount. ("Calm down, female reader.") No mention is made of the way in which an earlier recording of Joyce prosthetically does the work that his eyes at this point could not, at least without excruciating and time-consuming effort.

The Joyce-Eisenstein encounter—mediated and relayed by Eisenstein in various versions after the fact—doesn't decisively prove anything about Joyce's thoughts about film sound or the possibilities of adapting *Ulysses* into a film. It is suggestive, however, that voice, for Eisenstein, drops away from the event altogether. This might be, in part, a way to manage retroactively the perceptual confusions of the meeting—trying to make sense of the *Work in Progress* through a simultaneously aural and visual experience, and only finding out at the meeting's end about the extent of the host's blindness. As Adelaide Morris argues, "for the most part theories of aurality are deployed to mark the point at which lucidity disintegrates. When the ear is evoked primarily to signal moments of destabilization, slippage, or even psychosis, it becomes the one sense through which nothing much can make sense" (5). Eisenstein does not ponder the resonance of the vocal recording in this later telling, and he shifts focus only to the visual impression of the enlarged text. Instead of aural amplification or prosthesis through technology, Eisenstein offers a trope of magnification and poses this as symbolic for how Joyce discerns "the microscopic convolutions of the mysteries of literary language." The visual is once again privileged in an assessment of Joyce's work, while thinking in a complex way about aurality and vocality is resisted.

Joyce in Hollywood

Eisenstein was let go by Paramount toward the end of the year in 1930, after he had produced screenplay adaptations of Blaise Cendrars's *L'Or* (the adaptation was titled *Sutter's Gold*) and Theodore Dreiser's *An American Tragedy*, neither of which entered production (Bordwell 17-19).[10] He traveled to Mexico to film *¡Que viva México!*, a project financed by Upton Sinclair and a few others, but made his way back to the Soviet Union in early 1932 after Stalin telegrammed Sinclair with concerns that Eisenstein was a "deserter" (Bordwell 20-21). As Eisenstein was re-acclimating to life in the U.S.S.R., Joyce was entering into discussions with Warner Brothers about filming *Ulysses*. These discussions, as well as later communication with Paramount, never resulted in a contract. Joseph Kelly offers what is currently the most detailed account of Joyce's engagements with Hollywood. (Joyce, of course, never set foot in Hollywood himself. His dealings were through mailed correspondence, the possibility of meetings in Paris, as Paramount had an international studio in the Parisian suburb of Joinville, and advocacy by his son George who was living in New York City.) Kelly's article argues, rightly, that while Joyce tried to shape his public persona as eschewing the commercial pull of Hollywood, in fact he was more than amenable to an accessible Hollywood adaptation of *Ulysses*. Kelly traces an archived trajectory in which "Joyce was the suitor, not Hollywood" (526). Despite some effort on Joyce's part, no film adaptation of his work was ever contracted during his lifetime.

At a point when Joyce was still trying to negotiate an offer from Hollywood, either through a major studio or an independent project,[11] he became involved with a

screenplay adaptation of *Ulysses* that the New York-based Objectivist poets Louis Zukofsky and Jerry Reisman had been working on since 1932. Like Joyce's meeting with Eisenstein, the demise of this *Ulysses* screenplay project was similarly overdetermined and shrouded in breakdowns of communication that are nonetheless suggestive.

Copies of the script are archived at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin and at the James Joyce Foundation in Zurich.[12] Further communications are held at the National Library of Ireland, mostly in the Paul Léon papers. Only a few scholars have published sustained examinations of the screenplay project: Joseph Evans Slate for the *Library Chronicle of the University of Texas at Austin* in 1982 and, more recently, Kelly in his "Joyce in Hollywood" article. Slate poses the script as a vehicle through which Zukofsky furthered his later published ideas about film and, more crucially, as "a valuable example of formal innovations that derive from Joyce's *Ulysses* at a relatively early point in the history of sound film" (115). This latter claim, however, does not hold, as the script was never produced and was not paid any significant attention by filmmakers. Slate, moreover, does not grapple with sound film form beyond nods to notions of realism and narrative continuity. Kelly's interest, on the other hand, is "not in questions of narrative methodology but in the . . . issue of biography" (521). He links Joyce's interest in having Hollywood produce his work to his shift, in the 1930s, from the "hyper-classical" (533) interpretative apparatus for the novel advocated by Stuart Gilbert to the focus on the novel's realism and embodied, highly realized characters promoted by Frank Budgen.[13] As Kelly argues, "The Zukofsky project thus offered Joyce a new opportunity to revise the ancillary

packaging of his novel" (529). But Kelly excludes from his focus the specifics of the screenplay's sound film form and anticipated utilization of voice. My discussion investigates Joyce's involvement with the screenplay to show how sound film aesthetics mattered to an author whose work is deeply imbricated with the aesthetic development of film and other sensorial technologies in the early-to-mid twentieth century.

In early 1935 in New York, when the screenplay had been in progress for over a few years, Zukofsky met Joyce's son George, who subsequently brought the script to Joyce's attention. All indications suggest that the script was an independent project, intended by its authors for Hollywood production but never connected to a studio. In early July, Paul Léon wrote to Zukofsky on behalf of Joyce to apologize for the delay of response to the screenplay, explaining that Joyce had been in discussions with film firms interested in *Ulysses* but that those discussions had ended. Joyce himself at this time had "taken only a fragmentary cognizance" of Zukofsky and Reisman's screenplay. Léon inquires as to "conditions and clauses" for production but also notes that "several critics of competence" had found in the screenplay "some great lapses and errors" that would need correction (Léon to Zukofsky 10 July 1935). Zukofsky responds, directly to Joyce, that "the lapses in our scenario, which your secretary mentions, are possibly the result of our effort to write for practical American production" but also welcomed suggestions for changes. He proposes, "[s]hould we produce a scenario which finally meets with your approval," that Joyce sells as a package deal the book rights and screenplay "as the authorized screen version of *Ulysses*," which "should prevent garbling of our scenario and distortion of your book such as will surely result from the sale of the book rights

alone to a producer." Zukofsky does not offer any leads on interested producers but does offer to help with the sale "at your advice, and with the help of your son" (Zukofsky to Joyce 18 July 1935).[14]

By the end of July, Léon writes at more length to Zukofsky, informing him that "Mr Joyce has now read a large part of your scenario and it would seem that it appears on the whole quite commendable." Joyce, however, has two concerns: First, the screenplay contains "a quantity of glaring mistakes which can have the sole effect of provoking hilarious comments on the part of Irishmen be it in Ireland or in the States," though these "could be corrected." Second, the screenplay has "not made a complete use either of the book or of all device offered by the cinema technique," although Joyce praises a few examples of filmic adaptation offered in the script. The letter goes on to suggest that Zukofsky and Reisman might collaborate with an unnamed author who had also submitted a screenplay adaption to Joyce: "The author of it though apparently possessing less cinema experience or connections than you has however embodied in his script many more devices than you." This author's script also apparently incorporated episodes that Zukofsky and Reisman had left out, most notably Oxen of the Sun.[15] Léon notes the importance of securing a good producer "from the beginning," adding that "the name who naturally comes to my mind is that of Flaherty who has done *The Man of Arran* [sic] and *The Informer*" (Léon to Zukofsky 30 July 1935). The suggestion of Flaherty ends the page; there is no concluding signature from Léon on the page but also no further page archived for the July 30, 1935 letter. Here, Léon appears to conflate two different men: the quasi-documentary Irish filmmaker Robert Flaherty, who directed *Nanook of the*

North (1922) and *The Man of Aran* (1934), and the author Liam O'Flaherty, who wrote the 1925 novel *The Informer* on which John Ford's 1935 film was based.[16] This conflation was likely an unintended mistake on Léon or Joyce's part, but it is slightly possible that it instead was a way to test the screenwriters' knowledge about twentieth-century Irish culture and about film more generally. In any case, it becomes apparent throughout Zukofsky's communications about the screenplay that he and Reisman were not especially experienced or connected with film production, despite Léon's words to the contrary.[17]

The suggestion of Flaherty by Joyce supports the view of the Zukofsky-Reisman production as aiming primarily toward realism. Flaherty was most known for what were marketed as documentary films. *The Man of Aran*, filmed on the Aran islands, also incorporated sound, including the voices of the villagers. The documentaries, however, were very much mediated. Thomas Burkdall writes that they "were never completely accurate portrayals of the life of his subjects": "Nanook learned a new method of capturing seals for the film; the Samoans no longer made their lava-lavas from bark nor did they regularly practice tattooing as shown in two sequences in Moana, and the inhabitants of Aran had not hunted a basking shark for generations until they landed one on the curragh for Flaherty's camera" (37).[18]

The two concerns listed in Léon's letter about the screenplay are worth reflecting upon further. The first concern seems to be about filmic representation of Irishness—aspects of the screenplay that "Irishmen be it in Ireland or in the States" would find most of all "hilarious." But in the letter Joyce does not attach too much worry to this: it is

simply something that "could be corrected." The second concern is about employment of film form—about which the possibility of improvement remains nebulous throughout communications regarding the screenplay. The suggestion, however, of "Flaherty who has done *The Man of Arran* [sic] and *The Informer*" indicates a connection between global reception of a narrative crucially tied to Ireland and possibilities for film form development. In other words, the two concerns do not remain strictly separate.

Zukofsky responds promptly and at much length. He writes that he and Reisman "shall make every effort to revise our scenario to accord with the wishes of Mr Joyce" but that direct collaboration with a third author would be "impossible." A list of corrections is requested. The bulk of the letter explains the ways in which the script refers to episodes that it does not include and the cinematic logic behind these adaptation decisions; I will cover these segments of the letter when I investigate the screenplay itself. The letter concludes with discussion about possible producers and possible casting choices for Bloom:

> We have thought of Charles Chaplin as producer and in the role of Bloom, but it is probably vain to hope that he would consent to adapt his pantomime to the realistic and spoken needs of our scenario.
>
> Your choice of Flaherty for producer—whom we have also thought of—is excellent. He is probably the only one who could do the Tower episodes effectively. If you wish to approach him, we approve heartily. Moreover, we would suggest asking Charles Laughton to act the role of Bloom. (Zukofsky to Léon 12 August 1935)

Here, Zukofsky makes clear the "spoken needs" of the project but, at the same time, his two casting ideas for the role of Bloom suggest that he and Reisman were not fully thinking through the implications of filming *Ulysses* as a talkie set in Dublin. Once again, filmic ideas from Zukofsky and Reisman seem limited in relation to the adaptation of *Ulysses* not only as a talkie but also as a postcolonial work. Chaplin, of course, is the actor most associated with silent film, and he would not film a full talkie until *The Great Dictator* (1941). Laughton was a British stage and film actor who worked in both London and Hollywood; many of his roles in the early 1930s were distinctly British, including an Academy-Award winning performance as Henry VIII in Alexander Korda's *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933).[19] Zukofsky's letter likely also highlighted for Joyce the significant difficulties that would have been encountered should he have attempted to pull together a package deal for film rights and production before approaching a studio: it would be Joyce who would need to initially "approach" Flaherty or "ask" actors about playing Bloom. A letter earlier in the year from George and Helen Joyce alerting James to the existence of Zukofsky and Reisman's project explains their initial approach, should the script receive official authorization from Joyce: "They would then try to get Hollywood interested or if you know anyone in Europe who might be interested in doing *Ulysses* as a film." George notes, too, that they had "a letter all prepared to send off to Charlie Chaplin" but would, of course, not do so in advance of Joyce's approval (Mrs. George Joyce to James Joyce 15 March 1935).

Communication between Léon/Joyce and Zukofsky up to this point had been prompt and regular: dates of the back-and-forth letters are separated by less than two

weeks, which would have included transit time between New York and Paris. But after this last letter, of August 12, Zukofsky apparently never received a response. Zukofsky writes Léon a reminder on August 28, noting that he and Reisman have not received "the list of corrections" and asking, " Will you be good enough to advise us soon?" (Zukofsky to Léon 28 Sep. 1935). On November 11, Zukofsky sent a similar reminder directly to Joyce, adding "Will you kindly advise us whether he [Léon] is still representing you in this matter."

Léon responds in a letter dated November 20 that Zukofsky very likely never received. Léon writes that he did not reply previously "because the person Mr Joyce had in view for the cooperation with you in the bringing out of *Ulysses* has been seriously ill for a long time." My archival work to date has not been able to confirm who this person was or, in fact, if such a person even existed.[20] It is clear, however, that Joyce remained intrigued by aspects of Zukofsky and Reisman's script but did not wish to pursue production of the script in its current state. Léon continues:

> Mr Joyce wants me to inform you that even without considering a cooperation on a financial basis he thinks that a review of the script would be extremely important from the point of view of corrections and amendments of the film version. He therefore must insist on allowing at least to read the script together with this person. This would now be feasable [sic] and some definite reply with corrections could be given you within two to three weeks.

We will never know how Zukofsky would have responded and whether the collaboration would have moved forward. The envelope for this missive was misaddressed (to 11 East 36th St. in New York City rather than 111 East 36th St. as indicated throughout the rest of the correspondence with Zukofsky) and returned with stamped lettering of "NOT IN DIRECTORY" and "rebut" (discarded). The address mistake, however, was apparently not caught, for the last archived communication, from Léon to Zukofsky, consists of an exact copy of the November 1935 letter and an additional note to Zukofsky: "You will see from the enclosed that we are still expecting your permission with regard to a reading of your text before proceeding any further" (Léon to Zukofsky 11 Feb. 1936).

The script thus remained unproduced, although Zukofsky apparently tried to spark interest in it after Joyce's death in 1941. As Kelly details, "The last reference in the Zukofsky papers that I have found is a letter he sent to John Ford in 1941. Hoping to capitalize on Joyce's recent death, Zukofsky offered him the script, but if Ford replied, there is no record of it" (532). Kelly does not note this, but the Hollywood producer Jerry Wald happened to obtain the script from Reisman in 1960 and held it in his possession until his death a few years later (Reisman to Slate 8 Sep. 1986). Wald had acquired the screen rights to *Ulysses* but the project remained sidelined because he was busy producing the television show *Peyton Place* (Smith "Strickly Speaking"). It is unclear what role, if any, Wald intended for Zukofsky and Reisman's script.

Kelly argues about the screenplay that "No matter how slight was Joyce's reading of Zukofsky's script, we ought to take his approval of it as a tacit endorsement of its interpretation of *Ulysses*" (529). I agree with the gist of Kelly's overall argument: Joyce's

involvement with the screenplay reveals his desire for a *Ulysses* framed for a wider audience. There are aspects of the screenplay that clearly attracted him to the project, from particular moments (that will be detailed as applicable in what follows) to the idea of a film adaptation that could be grasped by a large public without need of scholarly apparatuses.[21] But while Joyce does not dismiss the screenplay, he very much approaches it as a work-in-progress. He insists on the inclusion of other collaborators who might revise and enhance the project: additional writers, ideas about whom might produce and direct the film, and never-sent lists of corrections. The project, however, apparently fades, as Joyce and Léon do not hear back from Zukofsky.

Barring unexpected archival discoveries, we will never know more detail about Joyce's views on the screenplay than is contained in the letters between Léon and Zukofsky nor more specifics as to how Joyce conceptualized in the mid-1930s a film version of *Ulysses*. Kelly, after citing the critique from Joyce that the screenplay had "not made a complete use either of the book or of all device[s] offered by the cinema technique," warns that "we need not read this comment as an invitation into Dr. Caligari's cabinet. It was probably a hope that Zukofsky would take greater advantage of film's capacity for telling a story well" (530). I do not agree, however, that an analysis of cinematic techniques as evidenced in the screenplay is necessarily a trip down the rabbit hole of conjecture. The screenplay project was very much an occasion for Joyce to think through the cinematic representation of his novel and the role that technologies both visual and vocal might play in it. The project comprises Joyce's most documented

engagement not only with ideas about sound film but also with the role of audible speech in an interpretation of *Ulysses*.

Ulysses as an Early Talkie

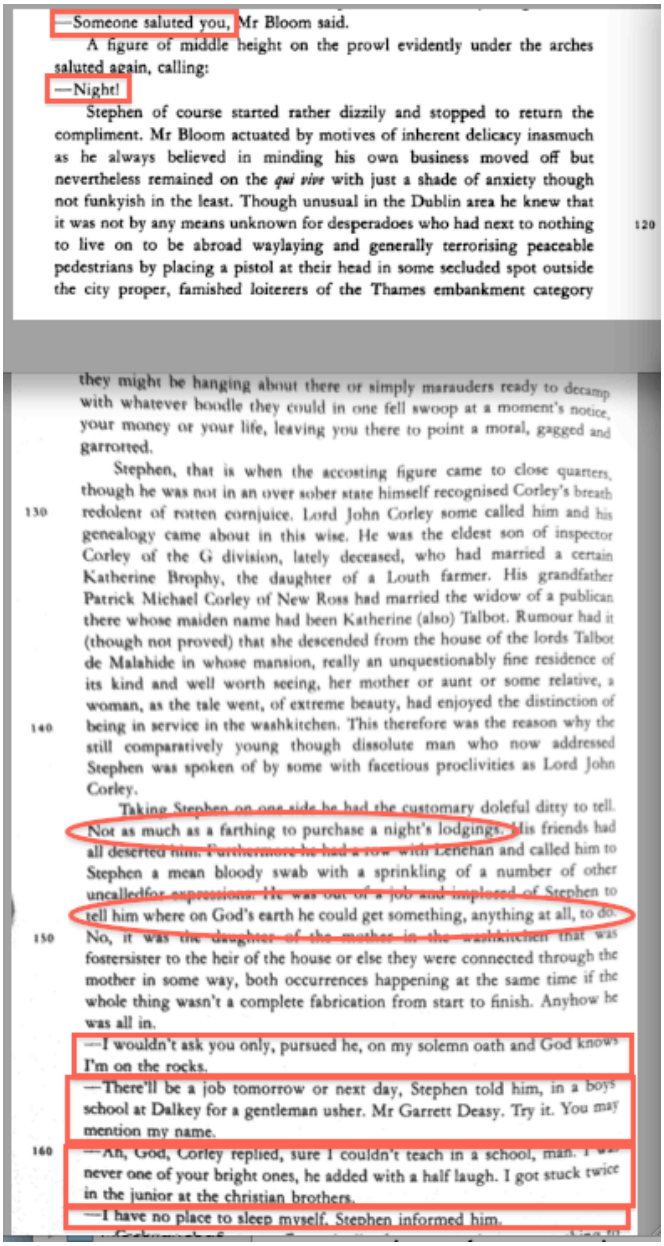
The Zukofsky-Reisman screenplay grapples with the prospect of talkie adaptation through employing basic ideas about Hollywood talkies as well as some previous avant-garde innovations, mostly related to silent film. The former are predominant, given the script's focus on the embodied realism of Stephen's and Bloom's day in Dublin on June 16, 1904. Zukofsky's August 12 letter to Léon responds to the critiques of the screenplay's exclusions with a claim about the need for "continuity:"[22]

> Out of the many possible interpretations of "Ulysses" we had to decide on one for our scenario, and to suggest only a feeling of the values of the others when they seemed necessary for our continuity. You have no doubt noticed that we decided for the realism of "Ulysses" and for the most direct sequence of events forming the story of a day in Dublin. Or rather the realism of the various literal episodes of "Ulysses" decided for us, convincing us that these and a representative choice from the speech of Mr Joyce's characters would give us something of the 'ineluctable modality of the visual' and the 'intellectual imagination' which motivate the Homeric morphology and characterize the finer verbal perceptions of the work.

The through-line sketched by a "representative choice from the speech of Joyce's characters" reveals a potentially occluded dimension of *Ulysses*: the structuring role of

situated, embodied speech in the novel's experiments with narrative consciousness and linguistic virtuosity. Audible, embodied voice and dialogue are central to the archived screenplay. The script forms primarily around what is spoken in *Ulysses*, and almost all of its abundant dialogue is pulled directly, although necessarily abridged, from the novel. In this section, I will focus on how the screenplay presents, for the most part, classical sound film attributes such as embodied, synchronized dialogue, chronological clarity, and the aim of realism. In the subsequent section, I will turn to the script's incorporation of visual, avant-garde aspects as well as to a few moments in which Zukofsky and Reisman attempt to integrate the two approaches more organically.

Until the beginning of the action of the seventeenth episode (Ithaca), the screenplay's skeleton consists of the spoken dialogue that Joyce sets off by long dashes (em dashes) in lieu of quotation marks. When necessary for coherence within a scene consisting mostly of long-dash dialogue, Reisman and Zukofsky include lines from free indirect discourse that seem attributable to the speaker. For example, see figures 1 and 2 to compare the novel to the screenplay at the point when Stephen and Bloom encounter John Corley (in the novel, this happens toward the beginning of the sixteenth episode, Eumaeus). Boxes drawn around text indicate the long-dash dialogue that appears verbatim in the screenplay. Ovals encircling text highlight portions of dialogue from the screenplay that appear without long-dashes in the novel.



—Someone saluted you, Mr Bloom said.

A figure of middle height on the prowl evidently under the arches saluted again, calling:

—Night!

Stephen of course started rather dizzily and stopped to return the compliment. Mr Bloom actuated by motives of inherent delicacy inasmuch as he always believed in minding his own business moved off but nevertheless remained on the *qui vive* with just a shade of anxiety though not funkyish in the least. Though unusual in the Dublin area he knew that it was not by any means unknown for desperadoes who had next to nothing to live on to be abroad waylaying and generally terrorising peaceable pedestrians by placing a pistol at their head in some secluded spot outside the city proper, famished loiterers of the Thames embankment category they might be hanging about there or simply marauders ready to decamp with whatever boodle they could in one fell swoop at a moment's notice, your money or your life, leaving you there to point a moral, gagged and garrotted.

Stephen, that is when the accosting figure came to close quarters, though he was not in an over sober state himself recognised Corley's breath redolent of rotten cornjuice. Lord John Corley some called him and his genealogy came about in this wise. He was the eldest son of inspector Corley of the G division, lately deceased, who had married a certain Katherine Brophy, the daughter of a Louth farmer. His grandfather Patrick Michael Corley of New Ross had married the widow of a publican there whose maiden name had been Katherine (also) Talbot. Rumour had it (though not proved) that she descended from the house of the lords Talbot de Malahide in whose mansion, really an unquestionably fine residence of its kind and well worth seeing, her mother or aunt or some relative, a woman, as the tale went, of extreme beauty, had enjoyed the distinction of being in service in the washkitchen. This therefore was the reason why the still comparatively young though dissolute man who now addressed Stephen was spoken of by some with facetious proclivities as Lord John Corley.

Taking Stephen on one side he had the customary doleful ditty to tell. Not as much as a farthing to purchase a night's lodgings. His friends had all deserted him. Furthermore he had a row with Lenehan and called him to Stephen a mean bloody swab with a sprinkling of a number of other uncalledfor expressions. He was out of a job and implored of Stephen to tell him where on God's earth he could get something, anything at all, to do. No, it was the daughter of the mother in the washkitchen that was fostersister to the heir of the house or else they were connected through the mother in some way, both occurrences happening at the same time if the whole thing wasn't a complete fabrication from start to finish. Anyhow he was all in.

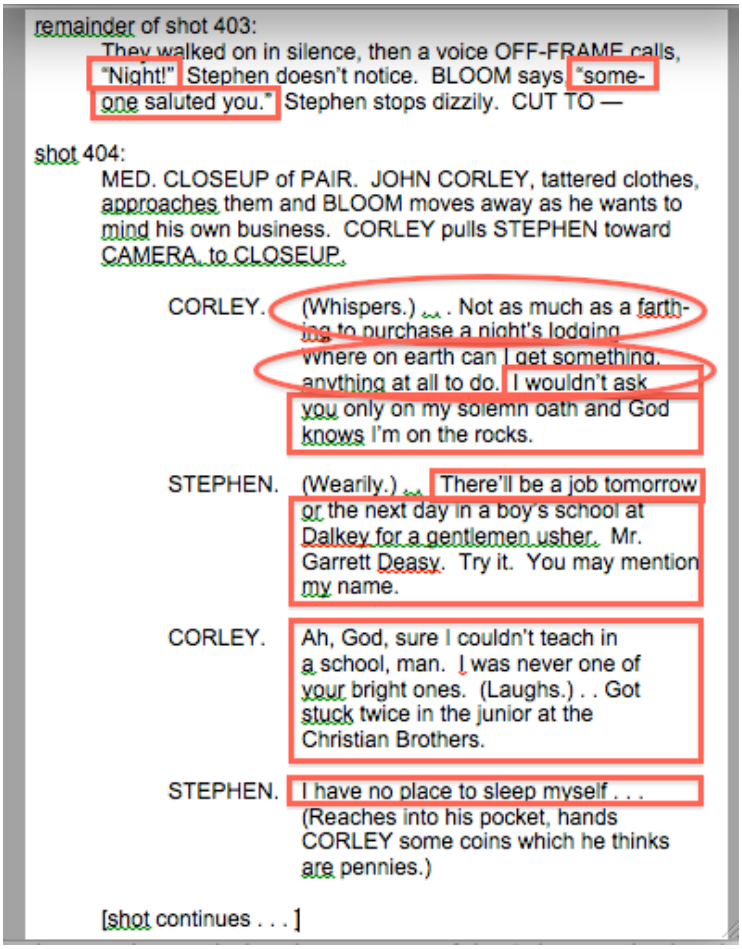
—I wouldn't ask you only, pursued he, on my solemn oath and God knows I'm on the rocks.

—There'll be a job tomorrow or next day, Stephen told him, in a boys school at Dalkey for a gentleman usher. Mr Garrett Deasy. Try it. You may mention my name.

—Ah, God, Corley replied, sure I couldn't teach in a school, man. I was never one of your bright ones, he added with a half laugh. I got stuck twice in the junior at the christian brothers.

—I have no place to sleep myself, Stephen informed him.

Figure 1. 16.120-63 in Joyce's *Ulysses*.


remainder of shot 403:
They walked on in silence, then a voice OFF-FRAME calls, "Night!" Stephen doesn't notice. BLOOM says, "someone saluted you." Stephen stops dizzily. CUT TO —

shot 404:
MED. CLOSEUP of PAIR. JOHN CORLEY, tattered clothes, approaches them and BLOOM moves away as he wants to mind his own business. CORLEY pulls STEPHEN toward CAMERA, to CLOSEUP.

CORLEY. (Whispers.) . . . Not as much as a farthing to purchase a night's lodging. Where on earth can I get something, anything at all to do. I wouldn't ask you only on my solemn oath and God knows I'm on the rocks.

STEPHEN. (Wearily.) . . . There'll be a job tomorrow or the next day in a boy's school at Dalkey for a gentlemen usher, Mr. Garrett Deasy. Try it. You may mention my name.

CORLEY. Ah, God, sure I couldn't teach in a school, man. I was never one of your bright ones. (Laughs.) . . Got stuck twice in the junior at the Christian Brothers.

STEPHEN. I have no place to sleep myself . . . (Reaches into his pocket, hands CORLEY some coins which he thinks are pennies.)

[shot continues . . .]

Figure 2. Segments of shots 403-04, transcribed from pp. 112-13 in the Zukofsky-Reisman screenplay.

As can also be seen in the Corley segments, the screenplay almost entirely excises words of interior consciousness, interior knowledge, and memory. For instance, in the Proteus episode of the novel, as Stephen ruminates while walking along Sandymount Strand, his stream of consciousness tells the reader of this hour along the beach: "I spoke to no-one; none to me" (3.308-09). The only long-dash dialogue in the episode is comprised of remembered family scenes and an overheard call from a stranger to a dog (3.353). In the screenplay, this section is represented by only four shots (shots 87-89; pp. 28-29) and sound is indicated in none of them.

Even with the screenplay's predominant focus on the novel's long-dash dialogue, nowhere near most of it appears in the script. Single words, single lines, and full scenes of dialogue have been cut. When cuts appear within a chunk of dialogue, it is usually to remove non-English lines, obscure or confusing references, or words that would have to be censored in a post-Code Hollywood film. Full episodes with significant amounts of dialogue are cut, too, in the interest of streamlining the script and keeping it near two hours of running time. (The 132-page script would translate into approximately 132 minutes of film time.) For instance, nothing from the Lotus Eaters episode shows up, presumably because Bloom has already been shown having conversations as he runs morning errands around town during the coverage of the Calypso episode. The Aeolus episode is covered in only ten shots: of Dublin transport and industry, of Bloom entering and exiting the newspaper offices, and Stephen and Bloom crossing paths as Stephen approaches the newspaper office while looking at the letter from Mr. Deasy. There is no dialogue indicated; a few of the transport and industry shots are meant to be accompanied by diegetic sound effects. The library conversations, largely about Shakespeare, of the Scylla and Charybdis episode are also removed, but the screenplay includes in its coverage of the Ithaca episode shots of Bloom and Stephen enacting lines from *Hamlet*. Joyce liked this particular adaptive move: in a letter to Zukofsky, Léon deems as a "good find" the incorporation of quotations from Shakespeare "in one of the last scenes which I understand to be a replacement of the library scene where this topic is discussed and by its nature does not lend itself to cinematic utilisation" (Léon to Zukofsky 30 July 1935).

The more dramatic and dialogue-heavy episodes, Circe excepted, receive most of the script's page space: Cyclops, for instance, takes up 24 pages.

Only occasionally the screenplay makes substitutions for a line or a word of dialogue from the novel: "Christ" becomes "Lord" or "God" at various points. In Telemachus, the introductory episode, Mulligan's exclamation "Scutter!" (1.66) when he needs to clean his razor blade becomes "Blazes!" (p. 4)—aurally foreshadowing Molly Bloom's paramour, Blazes Boylan. Mulligan's line that "The Sassenach wants his morning rashers" (1.232) becomes simply "I'm hungry" (p. 8), one of the few times when the screenplay dialogue not only empties the specific texture of speech in the novel but also misreads the book's meaning, as Mulligan is presumably referencing Haines, the English tower-mate, and not himself, as the Sassenach. (*Sassenach* is Gaelic for English person.)

In surprisingly limited instances, at least until the Ithaca episode, Reisman and Zukofsky add as dialogue lines that do not exist in *Ulysses* to clarify narrative context. For example, Bloom, after discussing with Mr. Power Molly's upcoming tour, tells him about Blazes Boylan, the man Bloom suspects has scheduled a tryst with his wife for later in the day, "By the way, Boylan must be on the way to my house. They're rehearsing together, you see" (p. 34). Bloom, of course, does not say this aloud to Power in the novel nor would a reader ever envision that he might.

Ithaca, the novel's penultimate episode in which Stephen accompanies Bloom home to 7 Eccles Street early in the morning of July 17 and a brief while later departs, does not contain any reported speech. The episode is structured by question-and-answer

format, in which such questions as "Had Bloom discussed similar subjects during nocturnal perambulations in the past?" (17.46-47) and "What supererogatory marks of special hospitality did the host show the guest?" (17.359-65) are asked and answered at varying lengths. Neither questions nor answers are attached to any attributable, diegetic point of view. The form of the episode distances us from what Bloom and Stephen actually say to one another. (The 1967 film adaptation of *Ulysses* by Joseph Strick manages to replicate the mediated distance between the reader and the characters by providing only a non-diegetic voiceover narrative as we watch Bloom's attempt at polite hosting in the middle of the night.) The textually mediated distance in the novel suggests that the words Bloom and Stephen speak to one another are inconsequential and unilluminating. Joyce thematizes the issue of voice in this episode precisely by excluding it, but vocality lurks nonetheless. A vocal outlet, or the parody of one, is presented in Stephen's and Bloom's cognizance of the "invisible audible collateral organ of the other" as they urinate. Bloom's stream forms the letter Y (17.1193-94) while Stephen's is "more sibilant" (17.1197).[23] The Ithaca episode in the novel resists emotionally realized, decisive development of the pair's connection and thwarts any expectation of reported embodied speech.

The screenwriters' treatment of this episode diverges significantly from the novel's structure, perhaps most crucially by the addition of decidedly flat dialogue between Stephen and Bloom extrapolated from an understanding of what actually occurs in this episode of the novel. These lines are laughably unfulfilling as the culminating exchanges by the pair. The lines read like a parody of the avant-garde's worst fears about

the talkies, although it is unclear if this was the intended effect. So, for instance, we have lines such as, from Bloom, "Want to wash up?" to which Stephen responds "No thanks." A bit later, Stephen, getting ready to leave, says "Thanks very much. You ought to get some sleep." Bloom asks him "Where are you going?" and Stephen's response is a brief "I don't know." The two do not urinate outside together, and their meeting ends only with Stephen saying "Good night and thanks."[24]

Ineluctable Modalities

In form, the screenplay displays a tension between the conventions of a Hollywood talkie and more avant-garde impulses toward a solely visual dialectic. Whenever the script attempts to grapple with aspects of the novel that Zukofsky and Reisman considered as purely textual or internally experienced by a character, they turn to the aesthetics of silent film. In other words, the authors largely limit sound and vocality to the realm of the perceptually real, while such things as literary intertexts, interiority, and the surreal are represented visually and silently.

Zukofsky, in the August 12 letter, stresses his and Reisman's aims of "continuity" and "realism" in the script's predominant focus on what they considered "the various literal episodes." But, at the same time, the less adaptable episodes that center on "verbalism" and the representation of "entire imaginary states of feeling" are referred to through occasional "diversion of the single frame of vision" (Zukofsky to Léon 12 August 1935) toward non-diegetic (and presumably silent) images. So, for instance, there is the momentary appearance in one Proteus shot on Sandymount Strand of "[w]hite

Greek statues," "legendary Greek ships," and a Ulysses who "yells defiance" in pantomime (shot 88; pp. 28-29). This is followed by an "angle nearshot (from below) of Cyclops on Cliff. The stake in his eye. With both hands he hurls down a huge stone" (shot 89; p. 29). From such images Zukofksy and Reisman "always return" to the literal narrative "and to a relation of physical things to the human action" (Zukofsky to Léon 12 August 1935). Thus, the next shot is of a church clock indicating 11:00 a.m. and church bells ringing—as Paddy Dignam's funeral service ends and the procession toward the graveyard begins (shot 90; p. 29).

Later, the Cyclops section of the screenplay also incorporates shots of elements beyond the film narrative's time and place, in keeping with Joyce's use of parody or gigantism in the novel's twelfth episode. Most but not all of these shots in the screenplay are silent. At Kiernan's pub, as the Irish nationalist referred to as "citizen" argues for a strictly delineated, exclusionary nationalism and Bloom counters with the expansive notion of a nation as "the same people living in the same place" (12.1422-23) "Or also living in different places" (12.1428), the screenwriters intersperse shots of the citizen engaged in a range of athletic pursuits, from shot putting, running, and high-jumping in "athletic togs" (shots 286-289; p. 81) to swimming, playing tennis, and "lift[ing] a tremendous man about his head" (shots 292-294; p. 82). At the episode's end, after Bloom escapes by carriage from the citizen who has grown increasingly menacing, the screenplay includes a succession of shots of "Cyclops hurl[ing] the stone"; a battlefield meant to "suggest [the] Russo-Japanese war"; storms over the battlefield, an ocean, and a country landscape; and, finally, a break in the storm that reveals "a peaceful sunset"

(shots 343-49; p. 96). None of these shots specify any sounds; the storms are represented by lightening.

However, a shot earlier in the Cyclops section of the screenplay includes one spoken line in its cartoon-like, exaggerated scenario:

> A MEDIEVAL FARMLAND. CLOSESHOT of BLOOM, in women's clothes, wearing a bonnet, holding a hen; and the CITIZEN, attired in medieval Irish armour. BLOOM draws an egg from under the hen and holds it up on view. "The best way is to train with kindness." The disgusted CITIZEN quickly raises a mailed first! CUT ON THE MOVEMENT. (shot 277; p. 78)

This shot adapts the lines parodying a children's primer in the Cyclops episode of the novel wherein Leopold Bloom is envisioned by the episode's narrator as a man who would "have a soft hand under a hen" (12.845): "Then comes good uncle Leo. He puts his hand under black Liz and takes her fresh egg. Ga ga ga ga Gara. Klook Klook Klook" (12.848-49). But the shot also harkens toward the novel's Circe episode, in which the psychic and linguistic dreamworld of *Ulysses* takes the form of what Martin Puchner argues is a "closet drama" (82), wherein dreamworld versions of characters and objects in the novel are assigned dialogue. "Black Liz" appears and is given voice in the novel's Circe episode, after Bloom is heckled as being a "[h]enpecked husband" by Zoe, a prostitute figure (15.3706). In accord with other gender confusions in the Circe episode, Black Liz is a "huge rooster" hatching eggs. Her spoken lines are "Gara. Klook. Klook. Klook" (15.3710). The closest the screenplay will come to the dreamworld characters and

dialogue of Circe is the above single shot of Bloom dressed as a woman, plucking an egg from under a hen as he proclaims aloud "The best way is to train with kindness." According to Zukofsky, this shot has another adaptive purpose as well:

> We have not handled the travesty of styles of the hospital or Oxen of the Sun episode and its stormy events directly. We believe the literary subtleties are, cinematically, impractical. There is, however, explicit cross reference to this episode in our Tavern scene, 277, which includes something of the parody of medievalism, maternity, delivery, and Bloo [sic?] as mollifier—all these details based on the Oxen of the Sun episode. (Zukofsky to Léon 12 August 1935)

Despite the screenplay's predominant focus on vocality, it notably resists audible dreamworlds. Of the Circe episode, the screenplay only includes the realistic exchanges among non-apparitional characters—among the brothel madame, the English soldiers (not specified as English in the script), Bloom, Stephen, and Stephen's friend (Corny Kelleher in the novel but Lynch in the screenplay)—that start and end the episode. The dreamlike appearances and dialogue that take over throughout the bulk of the episode—by Lord Tennyson, Edward the Seventh, Bloom's dead infant son Rudy, the soap, and so forth—are removed entirely. Zukofsky and Reisman note the unfortunate need to remove from a Hollywood talkie script the section of the novel that takes dramatic form on the page: "The best cinematic example we could have followed is Mr. Joyce's own powerful continuity represented by the Nighttown scene. Unfortunately the episode had to be shortened to avoid the ballottement of censorship" (Zukofsky to Léon 12 August, 1935).

As Kelly points out, "Joyce picked the least opportune moment to try to sell the not-quite-obscene *Ulysses* to Hollywood," given the appointment of Joseph Breen to the Production Code Administration in 1934. The production code was put in place in 1930, but Breen was the first administrator to enforce it strictly. Certainly, a fuller episode of Circe, in which dreamworld characters, objects, animals, body parts, and so forth not only inhabit material forms but also speak, would have no chance of making it into what Zukofsky calls "practical American production."

In the screenplay, the notion of dreams is gestured toward briefly, however, through very short shots of four prints by the surrealist Max Ernst, all published in his 1934 book of collages formed from illustrations in Victorian texts, *Une semaine de bonté* (A Week of Kindness). Zukofsky, in describing how he and Reisman "gathered certain images that, in our opinion, characterize the verbalism of 'Ulysses' as a whole, and reserved them for other scenes," gives as one example "the use of the Max Ernst insets evoking entire imaginary states of feeling" (Zukofsky to Léon 12 August 1935). The shots are interspersed with the action of the novel's Nausicaa episode: the first print appears after the climax of Gerty and Bloom's exchange (figure 3), the next three prints appear in succession after Bloom views Gerty walking away with a limp (figures 4-6). The thematic matter of the Ernst prints—eyes, hands, and viewed women—is clearly meant to comment on Bloom's masturbation as he views Gerty lift her skirts on the beach. The prints appear shortly before the transition to the screenplay's limited Circe material (as the Oxen of the Sun is excised). The prints are among the few nonrealistic aspects that Reisman and Zukofsky provide, and they are silent.

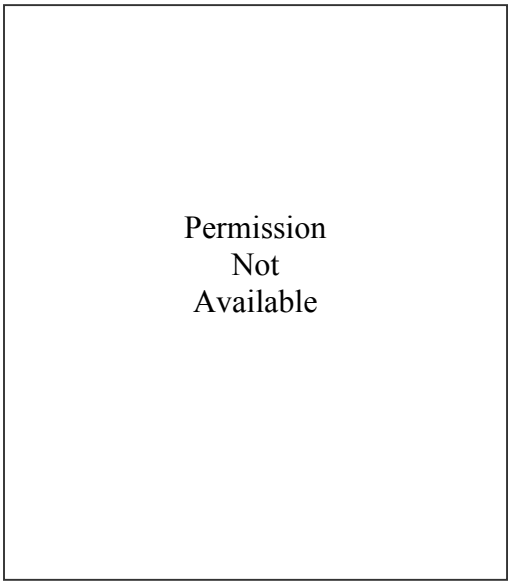


Figure 3.

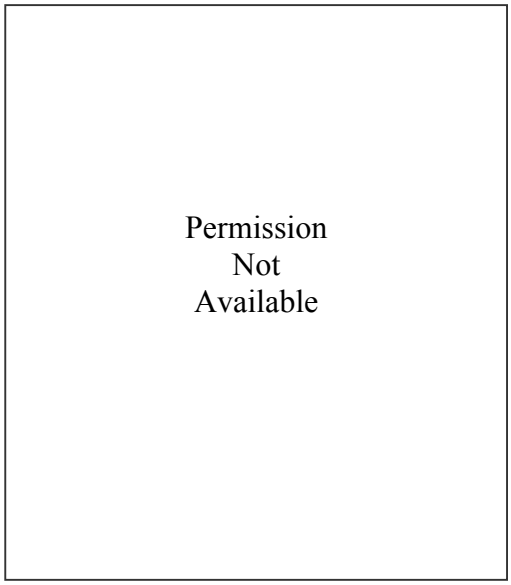


Figure 4.

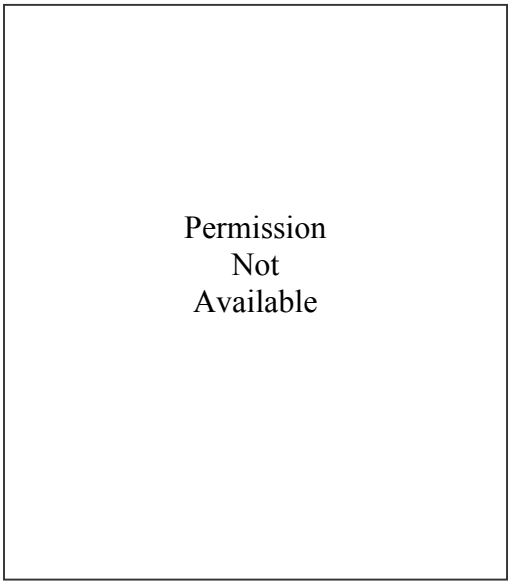


Figure 5.

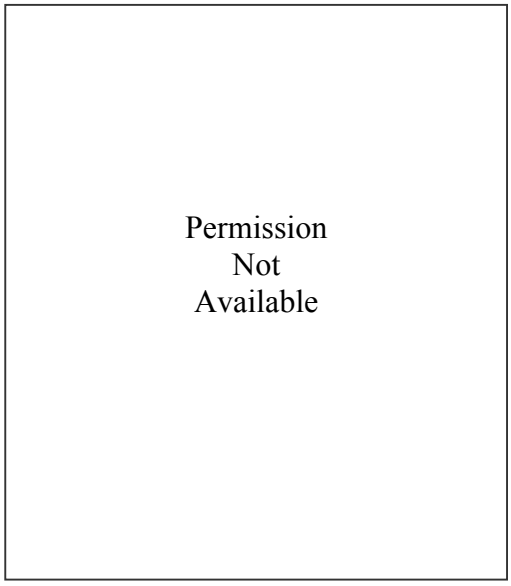


Figure 6.

*The images can be found in Max Ernst, *Une semaine de bonté: A Surrealistic Novel in Collage* (New York: Dover Publications, 1976). Figure 3 is on p. 196, figure 4 on p. 202, figure 5 on p. 203, and figure 6 on p. 195.

The screenplay attempts at a few points to bring together talkie and silent film forms in the same technique. Sequences of shots in the Nausicaa and Ithaca episodes are written to utilize three-screen Polyvision, an innovation first devised by the French filmmaker Abel Gance for use in his 1927 silent film *Napoleon* and abandoned for many years after the introduction of sound film (Brownlow 182). Polyvision projects three frames side-by-side simultaneously on the screen. Gance at points included at least one diegetically unrelated shot among the three, but oftentimes focused all three frames on the same action to display a panorama. The technique is very much a silent film innovation; if adapted for the talkies, it would require privileging sound in one frame throughout or orchestrating the relay or overlap of sound across frames. Three-screen Polyvision is first intended for the duration of five shots in Nausicaa (shots 362-66; pp. 100-04): the center frame projects Gerty's fantasies of Irish knights, domestic bliss, and material consumption; the right frame focuses on Gerty on the beach; the left frame focuses on Bloom observing as he "squirms a little" (p. 104) with his "hand in his pocket" (p. 103). The Polyvision sequence of Nausicaa attends successfully to the transfer of sound across frames, which is not the case for the Polyvision sequence in Ithaca. While no sound is noted for Gerty's fantasy visions, Cissy Caffrey speaks and moves across frames: Cissy occupies the right frame for two shots with Gerty, calling aloud for the young twins in her care and conversing with Gerty and Edy Boardman. In the transition to the third set of Polyvision shots, Cissy moves into the left frame to ask the observing "gentleman" (Bloom) the time, only to have him tell her his watch has stopped. In the fourth set of shots, Cissy returns to the right frame to report, "Uncle says

his waterworks are out of order" (p. 103). It is notable that this scene was among the scenes that Zukofsky read aloud for George Joyce when trying to spark his interest in the script in March 1935. Writing to his father about Zukofsky and the script, George specifies that "Two of the scenes that were read to us sounded very good to us. The funeral scene [Hades] and the Nausicaa scene" (George and Helen Joyce to James Joyce 15 March 1935). The three-screen Polyvision, however, maintains the split between realism conveyed through audible speech and interior states or constructs shown visually but not heard. Gerty's fantasy scenes are described visually but not aurally, and they do not include any dialogue.

The three-screen Polyvision technique is also included in the Ithaca episode for a sequence of two shots (shots 438-39; pp. 126-27). Shot 438 divides the simultaneous frames among three actions, the center frame occurs in real time as Bloom mends Stephen's coat, the right frame shows Stephen and Bloom enact brief portions of Hamlet (with Stephen as Hamlet and Bloom as the ghost of Hamlet's father), and the left frame provides telescopic images of space. In shot 439, the center and right frames continue with the previous views of coat mending and Shakespearian enactment, while the content of the left frame shifts from outer space to the localized flashback of Bloom and Molly standing over their newborn son Rudy's coffin. Presumably, the only frame meant to be audible to the film audience is the one on the right, with extended dramatic lines from *Hamlet*. (This is the scene that Joyce specifically approved of and that Léon, in turn, called a "good find.) Unlike in the Nausicaa Polyvision sequence, the authors here do not pay much attention to the possibilities of employing sound across frames.

There are no voice-overs or disembodied voices in the screenplay except for a select few moments: After Stephen speaks with his sister Dilly about their father selling off Stephen's books, there is one non-diegetic shot of seaweed underwater accompanied by Stephen's voiceover, explaining, "She is drowning. Save her. All against us. We. Misery! Misery!" (shot 251; p. 72). And, in the screenplay's final pages, a few paragraphs pull in patchwork style from Molly's stream-of-consciousness polylogue. Zukofsky and Reisman intended for Molly's words to be heard in conjunction with a dark-green screen that subsequently lightens and becomes splotched with red as Molly's voice talks about roses. As that voiceover segment ends, there are successive, silent shots of flowers, Gibraltar (Molly's birthplace), Molly with a young Bloom, and Molly with various other men, including Boylan. Another voiceover segment by Molly begins as an accompaniment to a flashback of Molly and Bloom in Spain. At no point while her abbreviated polylogue is running do we see the ruminating presence of Molly as she exists in the early morning of June 17.

Irish "Coughmixture"

Zukofsky and Reisman tend to excise the novel's sustained engagements with Ireland's colonial situation, from politically detailed conversations that appear in various episodes to the entirety of the Oxen of the Sun episode with its parodic staging of the development of the English language. The script retains, however, some of the novel's specificity about Dublin's colonial status, including not only visual elements such as a medium long-shot of a "British freighter" with a "British flag on mast" in Dublin's

harbor (shot 136; p. 40) but also audible dialogue that reflects upon Ireland's colonized status, such as lengthy verbal disagreements about nationalistic responses to colonization in the Cyclops episode. Kelly, taking into account Joseph Strick's 1967 film adaptation of *Ulysses*, a "largely depoliticized version of the novel" (532), suggests that "[h]ad Zukofksy and Reisman produced their film in the 1930s," it "would have permitted readings of Joyce that only became credible after the prodigious reclamation project by Irish critics such as Enda Duffy and Emer Nolan in the 1990s" (532).

Yet the screenplay's experiments with cinematic form, examined together with Joyce's correspondence, reveal more precisely how novelistic and cinematic forms of voice carry different political valences. Enda Duffy has argued for *Ulysses* as a "highly sensitive record" (12) of Joyce's response to Irish resistance of British colonial rule, especially throughout the fraught span from 1914 to the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1921. *Ulysses* as a Hollywood talkie in the 1930s would have linked the novel more clearly to the subject of British colonization as well as to the concerns of a postcolonial state. Moreover, such a film would have highlighted the novel as a work of vernacular modernism in which situated and spoken language is crucial.

But Zukofsky and Reisman's script aims to vocalize only the adapted realistic scenarios. As we know from the script as well as the communication of Zukofsky with Joyce and Léon, the scriptwriters deliberately employ silent visuality in place of aspects and episodes concerned mostly with "verbalism" and "imaginary states of feeling." The script's adaptive approaches split the modes of the novel along sensorial lines: realism leads to embodied vocalization while linguistic and psychic explorations are meant to

take only visual, silent shape. What such an adaptation produces is the representation of states of the imaginary, of thought, of the psyche as not only mute but also nonlinguistic. The silence of interior states in the film are shown, for instance, by the Max Ernst collage prints, brief images of Greek myth, and sketches of outer space. Even when a character appears visually in her interior reflections, there is no dialogue or sound attached, such as when Gerty envisions fantasies of pleasurable domesticity and rescue by Irish knights. There are two exceptions: The first is the brief surreal shot of Bloom in dress and bonnet speaking about kindness as he retrieves an egg from under a hen. The second is in the Ithaca segment, when within one of the three Polyvision frames Bloom and Stephen enact lines from Hamlet. But whereas Joyce adulterates Shakespeare's words in the Circe drama, with Zoe saying to Stephen, "(tragically) 'Hamlet, I am thy father's gimlet!" (15.3655) the Shakespearian lines to be enacted in the screenplay are faithfully transcribed, with Bloom as the Ghost speaking "I am thy father's spirit" (shot 439; p. 127).

Thus, while the screenplay holds promise for a more globalized circulation of an audio-visual narrative that reflects upon strategies of resistance to British colonialism, representations of the imaginary in the script are overwhelmingly silent and wordless. The screenplay does not attempt to grapple with adapting the linguistic texture and vocalizing tendencies of the novel's extensive forays beyond realism. This is displayed most clearly in the screenplay's excision of the Oxen of the Sun episode and the dreamworld center of the Circe episode.

Both Oxen of the Sun and Circe depend heavily on strategies of vocalization. In Oxen, Joyce mimics and, according to Andrew Gibson, adulterates a typical English prose anthology used for colonial purposes. As Gibson writes, "Much of Joyce's practice in 'Oxen' is actually an 'Irishisation' of things English . . . . The styles are repeatedly adulterated and distorted by Irish voices, Hiberno-English, Irish wit: Lenehan's quip about Mrs Purefoy 'expecting each moment to be her next,' for example, serves as a conspicuous interruption of the Malory parody" (179). The form of Oxen of the Sun, then, integrates within its dense mimicry of an English prose anthology disruptions from voices in *Ulysses*'s daily narrative. Somewhat obscured behind the form of the episode are the events of 10 p.m. on July 16, 1904: medical students and assorted others (including Stephen and Bloom) drink and socialize at Dublin's National Maternity Hospital while, in another area of the hospital, Mina Purefoy endures the prolonged labor of birth.

Oxen's form, too, requires the reader to vocalize, silently or not so silently, as he reads along, in order to distinguish the plays on style as well as the moments when the text shifts chronologically to mimicry of a later author or school. In Circe, vocality takes more obvious form: the episode is structured as a theatrical script, in which lines to be vocalized are attributed to specific characters. But the episode shifts from dramatization of actual narrative events to a dreamworld, surreal script wherein characters' bodies shift genders; spectral presences (such as the ghost of Elijah) become solid and speak aloud; and objects like a piece of soap, a fan, and a door handle enter and voice dialogue.

These textual and dreamworld aspects of *Ulysses* depend upon processes of vocality to represent interior and linguistic modes of engaging and resisting colonization. It is the texture of this vocality and the ways in which *Ulysses* structures it into its formal experiments that the Zukofsky-Reisman screenplay does not adapt. The screenplay instead portrays colonized interiority as silent—purely visual and often taking the form of non-diegetic figures, such as those from Greek myth and Max Ernst collages. To extend Michael North's argument that the political underpinnings of the avant-garde's resistance to sound film were rooted in part in a fear of foreign and racial otherness, I suggest that the select employment of avant-garde film form in the Zukofsky-Reisman screenplay works to negate a postcolonial imaginary constituted not only by the visual but also the verbal and the vocal. Dreamworlds and psychic states for Joyce would very much have been linguistically driven.

Such negation of vocality resonates with what David Lloyd has described as a long history of colonial "disciplining" of Irish "oral space" (49). Political and economic colonial policies

> required the reorganization of Irish space and the disciplining of their mouths. If the former was in part realized on the land in the wake of the Famine, the terrible silence that was registered as that catastrophe's cultural consequence was the all too apposite metaphor for the destruction of Irish oral culture and the social spaces that sustained it. (59)

Lloyd traces a complex structuring of Irish spaces wherein lines of public and private, and exteriority and interiority, are inscribed through colonial policies. Instead of the

notion of temporal progression from oral to literary culture, colonial policies approach the development of space toward similar aims: a devaluing of oral communication and transmission of culture as well as the formation of political subjects as individuals. Silent film techniques in the Zukofsky-Reisman screenplay thus align uncomfortably with colonial gestures.

The formal and sensorial bifurcation of the Zukofsky-Reisman adaptation reveals how its formal politics diverge from Joyce's. In Oxen of the Sun, the chronological progression of prose styles devolves, in its last four pages, into what Joyce described as "a frightful jumble of pidgin English, nigger English, Cockney, Irish, Bowery slang and broken doggerel" (Letters 1:138-39, 13 March 1920). This mishmash of situated, spoken language at the episode's end might be read as indicating a shift from written English styles to spoken language that was recorded and transmitted through technological means in the early twentieth century. The episode's final lines could be read as an invocation: "He's got a coughmixture with a punch in it for you, my friend, in his back pocket. Just you try it on" (14.1590-91). I want to read this invocation in a few ways: first, as a challenge toward verbalization within not only a colonized linguistic history but also during an era when the texture of spoken words from across the globe could be heard and collected by means of technologies of voice. But what is also significant about the conclusion of Oxen of the Sun is that it is followed immediately, in Circe, with an episode formed as a drama, complete with stage directions and lines attributed to named speakers. As Puchner notes, "enacted drama is the only genre that speaks truly with different tongues" (81). Thus the final lines in Oxen of the Sun prod the text from a

jumbled record of various voices into a form in which voices are sorted and linked to characters and presences. To prepare for this effort at more precise embodied verbalization, the text even suggests a "coughmixture."

The "soundseemetery" of *Finnegans Wake*

As a way to conclude this chapter, I attend briefly to *Finnegan Wake* as Joyce's literary response to the sounds and the newly transportable vernacular of the talkies. Figurations of vocal embodiment within written text were important to Joyce throughout his career. Joyce, of course, wrote the play *Exiles* (1918) and was deeply influenced by Ibsen's dramatic work. After seeing the stage actress Eleanora Duse perform in his teens, Joyce "wrote her an encomiastic poem which she did not acknowledge," and "he procured a photograph of her for his desk at home and continued to admire her" (Ellmann 77). *Ulysses* contains a 147-page dramatic script (Circe). *Finnegans Wake* shifts at points into a type of dramatic form, with back-and-forth dialogue attributed to Jute and Mutt and various similarly named versions of the pair.

We know about the variety of Joyce's reading during his composition of *Finnegans Wake* (1923-1939), including numerous mass-produced magazines and a best-selling novel of 1925, *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*, by Anita Loos, former film inter-title writer and eventual Hollywood screenwriter in the 1930s. Joyce wrote to Harriet Shaw Weaver that he had been "reclining on a sofa and reading *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* for three whole days" (*Letters* 1:246). This was in November 1926, when Joyce was also drafting the beginning pages of the *Wake*. In addition to Loos's Hollywood credentials,

she creates a heroine in *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*, Lorelai, who dreams of acting in the movies, and, with the intention of furthering this goal, eventually marries a rich, prudish film censor who secretly enjoys watching all the filmstrip he demands be excised. The novel is presented in the form of Lorelai's unreflective diary, which—while written—conveys Lorelai as a speaking presence. On the second page of the *Wake*, Joyce refers to the following excerpt from Loos's novel:

> So the veecount was really delightful after all. So then we rode around and we saw Paris and we how devine it really is. I mean the Eyefull Tower is devine and it is much more educational than the London Tower, because you can not even see the London Tower if you happen to be two blocks away. But when a girl looks at the Eyefull Tower she really knows she is looking at something. And it would even be very difficult not to notice the Eyefull Tower. (54-55)

Joyce arguably riffs on Loos's work when describing Finnegan's construction of "a waalworth of a skyerscape of most eyeful hoyth entowerly" (4.36). I bring in the example of Anita Loos not just for the Hollywood connection but also to show Joyce's interest in a novel that draws voice and writing into close, though not synonymous, relationship. Much has been made about the transit between image and word in *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*, but the connection between speech and the materiality of writing is arguably as significant.[25]

Joyce considered the *Wake* as bound up with, and made more accessible through, voiced language. In response to criticism by Ezra Pound and Harriet Shaw Weaver about

the obscurity of the *Work in Progress*, Joyce claimed to Claud Sykes, "It is all so simple. If anyone doesn't understand a passage, all he need do is read it aloud" (Ellmann 603). The externality of voice suggested by this approach is not the "inner speech" that silent film was seen to prompt and privilege, nor the quality that Eisenstein valued in *Ulysses* of "the syntax of inner speech as distinct from outer speech. The quivering inner words that correspond to visual images" ("A Course in Treatment" 105). As John Bishop explores, the *Wake* is infused throughout with the theme of hearing as well as a "ubiquitous 'deaf and dumb' motif" (265).

The talkies transmitted spoken words across national and linguistic barriers, in opposition to the notion of silent film as making possible a "single language across Europe" (Bryher *Heart to Artemis* 246). In the *Wake*, Joyce relentless accretes languages and vernaculars from across the globe, in an effort not toward a single, universal language, but rather an English that incorporates and resonates with multiple, situated written and spoken languages. As Max Eastman recalls, "[Joyce] remarked on his use of so many river names, and said he liked to think how some day, way off in Tibet or Somaliland, some boy or girl in reading that little book would be pleased to come upon the name of his or her home river" (Ellmann 610). Such accumulation occurs across sections as well as within single words, or portmanteaux. Derek Attridge argues that Joyce's use of the portmanteau word is the root of much "hostility" toward the *Wake*: "The fears provoked by *Finnegans Wake*'s portmanteau style are understandable and inevitable, because the consequences of accepting it extend to all our reading. Every word in every text is, after all, a portmanteau of sorts, a combination of sounds that echo

through the entire language and through every other language and back through the history of speech" (20). An extreme example of this can be read at the start of book 2, when a mime is "wordloosed over seven seas crowdblast in certelleneteutoslavzendlatinsoundscript. In four tubbloids" (219.16-17). This demonstrates a method employed by Joyce throughout the novel of combining different languages in novel ways—in this case, Celtic, Hellenic, Teutonic, Slavic, Latin, and Zend (the last referring to ancient and/or late Middle Persian language). While Joyce's "soundscript" in this particular portmanteau is concerned with originating and ancient languages, it at the same time recalls the phenomenon of the talkies (complete with tabloids) that "wordloosed" English "over seven seas."

Notes
Chapter 2

[1] See, for example, John McCourt, ed. *Roll Away the Reel World: Joyce and Cinema*; Thomas L. Burkdall, *Joycean Frames: Film and the Fiction of James Joyce*; and David Trotter, *Cinema and Modernism*, ch. 4.

[2] Danius only addresses in a sustained way the novel's first half, which has been considered naturalistic in comparison to what follows. See Groden, Introduction and "The Early Stages," regarding the three stages of the novel's composition. Trotter divides the novel by way of "Wandering Rocks," the tenth episode: "Its eighteen scenes plus a coda sit somewhat uneasily at the centre of the novel's eighteen episodes; they belong neither to the naturalism of its first part, nor to the wholesale experimentation of the second" (90).

[3] Only Keith Williams has written beyond a few paragraphs on Joyce and cinematic sound. See his article "Odysseys of Sound and Image: 'Cinematicity' and the *Ulysses* Adaptations." Williams explores "the extent to which films of *Ulysses* capitalise on its complex cinematicity," but focuses for the most part on the 1967 and 2003 films. His brief discussion of the Zukofsky-Reisman screenplay illuminates concerns about visual techniques but not sound techniques. For an even briefer discussion of the Zukofsky-Reisman adaptation, see Hatch and Simmons.

[4] About the meeting between Eisenstein and Joyce, Williams writes: "[T]he Russian highlighted only one particular, albeit prominent, aspect of Joyce's gamut of experimental styles" (160). Hatch and Simmons, on the other hand, write: "Although each man expressed his art through a different medium, the two were united by a similar

avant-garde aesthetic and by the pursuit of a direct artistic expression of the thought patterns of the human mind" (162).

[5] The version of the "Statement" included in Eisenstein's *Film Form* (ed. and trans. Jay Leyda) is a translation of the piece's first appearance on August 5, 1928, in the magazine *Zhizn Iskusstva* (based in Leningrad). I quote from this translation. According to Leyda, earlier English versions of the text, presumably including the version published in *Close Up* (which differs from the *Film Form* text), were translated from an unidentified "German publication of the statement" later in August 1928 (*Film Form* 260). The *Close Up* version is titled "The Sound Film: A Statement from the U.S.S.R." and appeared in *Close Up* 3.4 (October 1928).

[6] This "Statement" was criticized by Vladimir Messman in 1928 as misunderstanding musical counterpoint. Messman writes: "The statement operates with what at first glance seem to be complex positions but on closer examination these 'complexities' turn out to be not just something very woolly but also a clear misuse of little known musical terminology which, by the way, in general people in cinema like from time to time to flaunt in a quite irresponsible manner" (236). For an outline of why sound film came so late to U.S.S.R., see Montagu 27.

[7] For Gaumont, see Werner 497. For Shaw and the Film Society of London, see Montagu 32 and 30.

[8] See Werner 498 and Montagu. Of note: it is very probable that Eisenstein and Dorothy Arzner met at Paramount. They would have both been under contract with Paramount during the same time, and Montagu writes that "At Paramount, the country being a

democracy, everyone in the studio ate in one enormous hall. But perhaps it was not quite such a democracy after all, for V.I.P.s were segregated in a corner behind a sort of wooden fence such as marks out the private frontage of a suburban garden" (Montagu 53).

[9] Marie Seton, Eisenstein's biographer, notes that "Joyce told his friend [Eugene] Jolas, the editor of *Transition*, that if *Ulysses* were ever made into a film, he thought that the only men who could direct it would be either Walter Ruttman the German, or Sergei Eisenstein the Russian" (149), but this is traceable only to Seton's biography, based primarily on material she gathered from Eisenstein between 1932 and 1935.

[10] For an argument that Faulkner's writing of sound in his novels was influenced by reviewing Eisenstein's adaptation of *L'Or, Sutter's Gold*, see Sarah Gleeson-White, "Auditory Exposures: Faulkner, Eisenstein, and Film Sound," *PMLA* 128.1 (2013): 87-100. Faulkner produced a script of *Sutter's Gold* for Paramount.

[11] A handwritten letter to Sylvia Beach in 1934, from "Toni" in the US (city unclear; last name not provided) offers advice about film rights for *Ulysses*. "Toni" writes that Virginia Stover and her husband are interested in producing a film adaptation of *Ulysses* independently and are "a little impatient because Mr. Joyce does not answer—They as independents couldn't pay as much as M.G.M. or Paramount for instance . . . . From what I can find out from $75,000 & $100,000 would be it—from a a big Co. . . . . So I think Joyce could hold out for 100,000 or more + get it—depending on how badly they wanted it—which would depend on 1) If he sells outright no strings . . . [or] 2) If he sells on condition of a right to OK" (Unknown "Letter to Sylvia Beach").

[12] I have only consulted the version at the Humanities Research Center. The Zurich script apparently was George Joyce's copy.

[13] For more on Gilbert and Budgen, see Brooker ch. 2.

[14] Also, in this letter, Zukofsky guesses that "the rights to *Ulysses* and scenario should bring fifty thousand to seventy-five thousand dollars." Of this, Zukofsky and Reisman were expecting about 15 to 20 percent.

[15] The two episodes that Leon notes are Lestrygonians and Oxen of the Sun. But, as Zukofsky correctly points out in a response, his and Reisman's script does incorporate Bloom's lunch attempt at Burton's restaurant and his subsequent relocation to Davy Byrnes (which are central to the Lestrygonians episode).

[16] There was also a 1929 version of *The Informer* from the British director Arthur Robison, though it seems likely that Ford's version was on Joyce's or Leon's mind, even though they probably had not seen it. It was released in the U.S. on July 10, 1935 and its narrative events take place in Dublin.

[17] Kelly, too, notes that "the project never had much chance of success. Zukofsky seemed to be working in perfect naiveté, or he was playing the confident salesman" (531).

[18] In his book-length study of Joyce and film, Burkdall notes, without referring to the Zukofsky-Reisman screenplay, that Flaherty "was mentioned as one of the possible directors of the proposed 1930s film version of *Ulysses*" (37).

[19] Ivor Montagu had directed Laughton in late 1920s British silent films written by H. G. Wells.

[20] In the off chance that this person was Eisenstein, by 1935 this would have been of little help to Joyce in terms of Hollywood production.

[21] Zukofsky and Reisman, however, had consulted both "Gilbert and Budgen's commentaries" (Zukofsky to Léon 12 Aug. 1935). Kelly contends that the screenplay aligns most with Budgen's approach and is "strikingly at odds with the interpretation pushed by Gilbert's influential James Joyce's 'Ulysses,' which until January 1934 had been the only taste of the . . . epic for many readers who could not get hold of the novel" (528).

[22] In addition to narrative continuity within the full script, *continuity* is also the term for a short, descriptive overview that provides prospective producers a quick sense of the full project. Zukofsky and Reisman append to their full script a three-page continuity full of melodramatic constructions, such as a Stephen "who feels more than his Dublin friends can understand" (1) and a Bloom who "barely escapes with his life" after "an argument in a saloon with a drunken nationalist" (2).

[23] For Joyce's use of sibilance in relation to attributes of the phonotext, starting with *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and extending through *Finnegans Wake*, see Stewart, *Reading Voices* 233-34, 251.

[24] Reisman and Zukofsky also create dialogue for a moment from Ithaca which they misinterpret. In the novel, Bloom "contemplated but suppressed" the hospitable urge toward "reparation of a fissure of the length of 1½ inches in the right side of his guest's jacket" (17.371-75), but in the screenplay Bloom "leans over and fingers a rip in Stephen's coat":

BLOOM. Take it off, and I'll sew it.

STEPHEN. No, no, I wouldn't trouble you.

BLOOM. Yes, I insist. You can't go around like that.

After which, Stephen "resignedly takes off his coat," while Bloom "gets up to fetch needle and thread" and repairs the coat as Stephen looks on (pp. 125-26).

[25] For an examination of "image and word" in Loos, see Laura Frost, "Blondes Have More Fun: Anita Loos and the Language of Silent Cinema," *Modernism/modernity* 17.2 (2010): 291-311.

Chapter 3

Nonhuman Voice and Sociality in Woolf's *Between the Acts*

Virginia Woolf describes in her diary on May 31, 1940 the experience of crafting fiction after extended work on her biography of Roger Fry, a shift in modes of writing she had a few years earlier explained as "[s]witching from assiduous truth to wild ideas" (*Diary* 159; Aug. 4, 1938):

> Making up again. So that I couldn't remember, coming home, if I'd come by the mushroom path or the field. How amazing that I can tap that old river again; & how satisfying. But will it last? I made out the whole of the end; & need only fill in; the faculty, dormant under the weight of Roger, springs up. And to me its the voice on the scent again. (291)

Woolf's "faculty" for fiction, for "making up," revives as she focuses on *Pointz Hall*, her last novel, which would be published after her death as *Between the Acts* (1941). Like a synesthetic detective "on the scent," she finds herself drawn to audible voice as a generative concept. In a letter to Stephen Spender in 1937, Woolf writes about how she had "wanted to get some chorus; some quite different level" in her just-completed *The Years* (1937), an approach she is "anxious to develop . . . further" in her next novel (123).[1] In this chapter I argue that central to Woolf's "wild ideas" when writing *Between* and the "quite different level" of chorus toward which she aimed was an exploration of nonhuman voice and its implications for the formation of social communities and language.

The preoccupation with audible voice in *Between* contrasts with an oeuvre characterized predominantly by interiority and stream of consciousness. As James Naremore claims, *Between* is Woolf's only novel "without the correlated sense of retreat from being and doing, of immersion in water with only muffled sounds audible from above" (87). The novel centers around a pageant-play staged outdoors on the Oliver family's English countryside estate and directed by Miss La Trobe, who experiments reflexively and ambitiously with scenes from English history up to the present of July 1939. Woolf's turn toward depicting a more external, aural present has been understood by many as a politically inflected response to the advent of the second World War and the threat of large-scale annihilation. The civic-mindedness of the novel in-process is suggested in 1939 by Woolf's conviction that instead of "learning to do something that will be useful if war comes . . . by writing I am doing what is far more necessary than anything else" ("A Sketch of the Past" 73). Madelyn Detloff argues that *Between* "is an attempt to intervene in the production of discourses that Woolf found most responsible for the promotion of war" (404). Melba Cuddy-Keane writes that Woolf, in an attempt to imagine survival, "may have been sketching out a new model of society" ("Politics of Comic Modes" 274).

Voice in *Between* takes communal shape—the "'I' rejected" and "'We' substituted," as Woolf notes in her diary (135; April 26, 1938)—and has been read by critics as, variously, choral, anonymous, and, when piping through the gramophone or the megaphone, potentially dictatorially unifying.[2] In such readings, voice retains alignment with the human, even when en masse, or nameless, or implicated in fascism. But

nonhuman animals and machines—including cows, birds, a testy gramophone, and airplanes—make unexpected contributions to the pageant's soundscape, and Woolf often frames these as voices.

Nonhuman voice is a counterintuitive, speculative notion. Bruno Latour, in *We Have Never Been Modern*, points out how an unsustainable stance of modernity—the ontological separation of human culture from nonhuman nature/science—has relied on humanist beliefs about the speaking subject. These beliefs dictate that "speaking subjects are incommensurable with natural objects and with technological efficacy, or that speaking subjects ought to become so if they are not incommensurable already" (Latour *We* 59). This zoning of human and nonhuman has been enforced for moderns at the level of principle and attitude. Meanwhile, on the ground, in collectives and networks in which humans and nonhumans associate, "mixtures between entirely new types of beings, hybrids of nature and culture" (*We* 10) have proliferated without being recognized or contemplated as such. Or, in other words, the mindset of modernity is sustained by an inability to recognize the formation of hybrids in a world that could not function without them. By contrast, premoderns and nonmoderns are defined against modernity because of their inclination to "dwell endlessly and obsessively on . . . [the] connections between nature and culture" (*We* 41).

As Latour's discussion of "speaking subjects" reminds us, concepts of the human and the nonhuman have long formed around the locus of voice, with humans as capable of voice and nonhumans, at most, only sound. Even in current theoretical work that takes seriously the existence of nonhumans, the idea of nonhuman vocality is rarely considered

at length, as such a focus starkly limits the extent to which the interconnectedness of humans and nonhumans can be rethought. Because many nonhumans are silent, neither voice nor sound has been an especially salient category for attending to how nonhumans shape the social. In the work of scholars such as Bruno Latour, Tim Morton, and Jane Bennett, nonhuman voice tends to appear more as a figurative way to think about nonhuman representation when envisioning the possibility of "a Parliament of things" (Latour *We* 144), "a truly democratic encounter" between human beings and "other beings" (Morton 7), or "a polity with more channels of communication between members" (Bennett 104). The specter of audibility, however, can make such aims seem especially unthinkable. For instance, Kevin Murray, when discussing Latour and nonhuman voice, writes that, "At first it is difficult to see beyond the medieval comedy of endangered Amazonian forests tapping microphones to be heard above the bellowing megafauna" (19).[3] Any attempt to ascribe voice to nonhumans risks the dangers both of logical absurdities and of merely displacing human concerns onto objects or organisms. Woolf's depiction of a choral unison of humans and nonhumans in *Between* amounts to a difficult literary experiment yielding results that have remained somewhat opaque. As my reading will show, accounting more fully for Woolf's experiment offers not only a better understanding of the novel within her oeuvre but also the work's broader aesthetic and political implications.

Woolf's interest in nonhumans and how they help to shape "the moment whole" is apparent throughout her writings. In *Between*, Mrs. Swithin explains in effortful murmurs to William Dodge, whose name she has forgotten, "we have other lives, I think,

I hope . . . . We live in others, Mr. . . . we live in things" (49). Although Mrs. Swithin is not generally a mouthpiece for Woolf, these sentences describe well the Woolfian narrative consciousness that moves among and merges lives, presences, and things. Woolf, in her fiction, had long thought in terms of collectives and the actions and existence of nonhumans within them. But it is only in *Between* that nonhumans make themselves known, diegetically, in such audible registers. In the novel's opening page, the Oliver and Haines families talk "in the big room with the windows open to the garden" while outside "a cow coughed" and "[a] bird chuckled" (3). During the outdoor pageant that takes place over the latter two-thirds of the novel, the voices of the performers and the audience are joined by, among other nonhuman sounds, bird-filled "trees with their many-tongued much syllabling" (83), the continual machine sounds of the gramophone, and cows bellowing with "a primeval voice sounding loud in the ear of the present moment" (96).

The novel's turn to the audible amplifies and complicates Woolf's recognition of the nonhuman. Her writing of nonhuman voice can be read as a gesture within fiction to rethink the constitution of modernity and the social. She speculates, like scholars of the nonhuman, about what is possible within a collective and how to register the presence and actions of nonhumans. The novel, however, reveals some ambivalence about the constitution of the chorus it creates. This is partly because representation of audible voice in general was fraught artistic territory for Woolf, who, as Patricia Laurence argues, in the late 1930s "(reluctantly) transfers her interest to the outer, giving up, to some degree, her 'preference for the windings of [her] own mind'" ("Facts and Fugue" 229).[4] But even

moreso, I argue, it is attributable to the ways in which vocality pushes recognition of the nonhuman to representational and political limits. While Woolf's novel does not and cannot offer straightforward political dictums, it fosters awareness of the sociopolitical registers of the most basic elements of aurality and language: the distinctions between sound and voice and between *phone* and *logos* as well as the questions of agency that center around them.

II

In late 1940, Woolf began to envision a "Common History book," and her initial notes outline in telegraphic fashion the concepts she planned to explore:

1. Anon.
2. The ear and the eye.
3. The individual. 3. The audience
4. Words? (376)[5]

These are also central themes animating *Between*, which Woolf was at that point revising. Before her death, Woolf's work on the common history book yielded two unfinished essays that match up with the first two items from her project notes: a draft of "Anon" and the start of "The Reader," the latter interested in the historical development of the reader's ear and eye. Together these essays start to imagine a history of audibility in language and literature. Although Woolf initially envisioned that the project would go up to the nineteenth century, "skip present day," and conclude with a "chapter on the future" (375), the essays stop short in the Renaissance. They, however, grapple with notions at play in *Between*, such as animal voice, human voice, collective anonymity, and

technology's influence on language and literature. An examination of the essays will help us to get a better handle on Woolf's approach to these notions in *Between* as well as the novel's preoccupation with prehistory.

In "Anon," Woolf constructs a myth and a phenomenology of what she calls "the voice of Anon" from prehistoric times to the Renaissance, with an evolution from birdsong to unattributed human voice to a writer-subject with a name. Lines from G. M. Trevelyan's *History of England* (1926) begin "Anon," placing us in Britain after it "became an island" but "when the untamed forest was king" (382, 401n1). Woolf starts her history in the forest, with the sound of birds singing in the trees prompting the desire of a "skin clad" hunter to voice forth poetic song. Stalled until a tree is "felled . . . and a hut made from its branches," the human voice that eventually "broke the silence of the forest" is Anon's first appearance (382). The song is remembered by an audience that "was itself the singer," perhaps referencing the oral transmission of poetry. Anon is generalized as "sometimes man; sometimes woman" (although most often identified as male by Woolf), "the common voice singing out of doors" (382). As the centuries progress, Anon appears in various guises—"uncouth" English singer "at the back door" of French-speaking houses (383), minstrel in the royal court, and pageant player in the churchyard and then the market place—until he is both "killed" and "preserved" by the printing press (384). William Caxton's 1477 printing of Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur* compilation "fixed the voice of Anon for ever" (384), providing "a settled recorded past" (385) against which the present can be framed.

For Woolf, the printing press also changes how language can take shape. The common voice "at the back door" (386) continues in the form of "little language": "brief, intimate, colloquial" (388), an unmoderated voice "that stumbles, that repeats, that loses the thread of its argument . . . . that uses the plain language of the farm from which he sprang" (387). In Woolf's estimation, however, this "little language" is lost from literary output until Spenser and Shakespeare. Earlier writers instead write with "the rhythm of the Bible . . . in their ears. It makes their speech unfamiliar" (388), and language for them is "a cumbrous garment" that is "only expressive of certain emotions" (389, 388). Music and song were outlets for other emotions, which remain "unsayable." Words set to music "could be read aloud; danced to or sung to; but they could not follow the pace of the speaking voice. They could not enter into the private world" (389). Woolf claims that in printed work and musical performance in the early English Renaissance, language and the voice become unassimilable. Or, in other words, when spoken, the language of print sounds "unfamiliar" and stunted while words in song are only resonant rhythmically and tonally and do not manage to trespass linguistically into "the private world."

In "The Reader" essay, of which Woolf only finished a handful of pages, she begins to set forth a developmental history of the figure of the reader. She marks the reader's birth when the playhouses were closed in the late sixteenth century because of plague outbreaks (428). A growing concern of the essay is the relationship between a reader's perceptual senses—especially of the eye and ear—and the writer's ability to evoke on the page "places and houses, men and women and their thoughts and emotions" (428). Woolf veers very briefly into her contemporary moment, noting that this ability

must be negotiated differently now that the eyes and ears are regularly engaging with technologies such as film and radio: "the cinema is now developing [the reader's] eyes; the Broadcast is developing his ears" (428).

These essays invite comparison with *Between* in terms of shared themes of performance, choral anonymity, and the qualities of "little language." The pre-print figure of Anon from the essay is reminiscent in many ways of the pageant performance in the novel. The pageant-play's retelling of England's history by local villagers—with, for instance, the shop-woman "licensed to sell tobacco" (57) playing Queen Elizabeth—suggests both Anon's commonality and the vocal transmission of history. The pageant's author and director, Miss La Trobe, attempts a version of anonymity by staying hidden in the bushes during the pageant, and, at its end, when the Reverend Streatfield tries at two different moments to recognize the "gifted lady," she remains "invisible" (130). Later, Mrs. Swithin wants to thank the author, but the elder Mr. Oliver intuits La Trobe's desire not to be acknowledged and tells Swithin rather to thank the actors or "ourselves, the audience" (138). The pageant thus manages to create a choral, communal voice as opposed to a singular, authorial voice. That this seems to be La Trobe's intent highlights the pageant as a transitional, conflicted movement away from notions of modern authorship.

What Woolf in "Anon" calls "little language" appears throughout *Between*, from the "Hi-huh!" of the "cow language" spoken by Bond the "cowman" (20), to the children's nurses "talking—not shaping pellets of information or handing ideas from one to another, but rolling words, like sweets on their tongues" (8), to the "words of one

syllable" sinking "down into the mud" to which Miss La Trobe listens drowsily as she drinks whiskey at the pub (144). The novel, in fact, goes further than Woolf's essay project in depicting voice as simultaneously human and nonhuman and displaced from discrete speaking subjects. Birdsong prompts thoughts of the primeval era for Mrs. Swithin, as she reads her "Outline of History" at dawn (6-7), while for Miss La Trobe, hearing birdsong brings her to a primordial state of creativity about her next project following the pageant: "something rose to the surface" about which she wonders, "What would the first words be? The words escaped her" (143). The pageant's status as a visual and aural performance that Woolf depicts in print, too, connects with the relationship between perceptual senses and the craft of written words that Woolf aims to trace in "The Reader."

Despite the shared preoccupations between the novel and the common history project, Woolf did not give a clear sense of the kind of connection she envisioned between them. Are the essays trying to explain in somewhat less fictionalized terms the project of the novel? Attempting to strengthen the sense of its validity by giving it a more fully mapped—if imagined—history? Revising the novel's project and pulling back from its more radical implications? In large part, the essays are more bewildering than the novel. Among the few scholars who have addressed Woolf's "Anon," Jed Esty admits that a central "object of Woolf's historical imagination" in the essay, her formulation of the relationship between poet and audience in which "the audience was itself the singer" ("Anon" 382), "does not even make sense" (102). Another treatment of "Anon" in an early essay by Nora Eisenberg compares "Anon" and *Between* in order to argue that

Woolf wants to revive the voice of "Anon" as a "cure" for modernity and its patriarchally inflected language. Woolf is seen as advocating for a nebulous anti-modernity, a return of sorts to prehistoric modes of community and the "selfless," collective verbal expressions of "the old mother-world" (253). But such a reading, beyond its essentialization of gender, does not give enough weight to how the essays were shaped as histories of development, meant to lead all the way into the future, that trace a constantly adjusting role for audibility and "little language" instead of an opposition between prehistory and the modern present. The essays' model of history moves forward in time, but the generalized expressive vocality that Woolf most associates with pre-print time persists throughout, in an ever-changing relationship to literary language that is influenced significantly by technological development (the printing press and, in Woolf's brief gesture toward the twentieth century, film and radio).

What Woolf shapes in *Between* is not a pre-print throwback but a collective vocality that is newly constituted yet vibrating with historical accretion. As Isa in *Between* observes, "[N]one speaks with a single voice. None with a voice free from the old vibrations. Always I hear corrupt murmurs; the chink of gold and metal. Mad music" (106). A crucial distinction between the essays and the novel is that whereas Anon progresses from animal sound (birdsong) to human orality to silence by printing press, the novel's pageant is formed throughout by voiced contributions of animal, human, and machine. The pageant's script, like the essays, moves forward diachronically, but the chorus throughout the performance is very much of its 1939 moment, when hybridization of human and nonhuman would have been heightened and especially complex, if largely

unacknowledged. The stockbroker Giles, for instance, worries about war and metaphorizes technologies of war as animalistic: "He had no command of metaphor. Only the ineffective word 'hedgehog' illustrated his vision of Europe, bristling with guns, poised with planes" (37). For all that both animals and technology are emphatically present in *Between*, Giles's illustration is one of the few instances in the novel in which animals and machines are fused metaphorically. This figuration approaches an idea of hybridization, but one from which humans are occluded entirely.

Scholars have explored the political implications of *Between*'s emphasis on de-individualized choral voice. Esty writes that "[t]he desirability of a collective or impersonal voice had become an urgent political as well as aesthetic matter in the period," and links how choral voice "giv[es] form to communal values rather than to individual impressions or divisive ideologies" (87) to a refigured, nativist English nationalism in the late modernist era. For Cuddy-Keane, on the other hand, "[t]he narrative act of transforming all voices into chorus" "protest[s] against hierarchical power structures" and dominating leaders ("Politics of Comic Modes" 275 and 273). But scholarship on the novel has not addressed adequately the political significance of nonhuman and hybridized voices in the chorus. Esty's otherwise illuminating examination of the novel leaves the nature/culture divide largely unquestioned, reading Woolf's portrayal of vocal cows during the pageant as her indictment of tired cultural forms. He writes, "the echoing cows would seem to underscore the pageant's rote quality. This is cultural expression so ancient and familiar that it barely counts as culture at all: even the local animals know the tune" (91). Cuddy-Keane notes how, in the pageant's

inclusion of natural and human sound, an "anthropocentric vision is replaced by an integrated vision of humanity and nature" ("Politics of Comic Modes" 281) but does not press further into what such an "integrated vision" might mean.

The sonic contributions of animals, machines, and even the weather to the pageant have long been considered in studies of *Between*. But these contributors to the performance have not been collectively understood as nonhuman. Instead, scholars have tended to focus on either nature or technology, often setting the two at cross-purposes. The choral form of *Between*, I argue, can usefully be placed in dialogue with Latour's take on collectives and social assemblage. A proponent of actor-network-theory (or ANT), Latour argues for an understanding of the social not as "a place, a thing, a domain, or a kind of stuff" identifiable in advance for study, but as what forms provisionally "in movement[s] between non-social elements" (*Reassembling* 159). In other words, nothing is social in and of itself. The social is assembled by action and connection among humans and nonhumans. For Latour, modern concepts of nature and society "are both premature attempts to collect in two opposite assemblies the one common world" (*Reassembling* 254). As he argues in *We Have Never Been Modern*, concretizing these "premature attempts" keeps us from understanding the kinds of formation that actually take shape: a common world of hybridity in which "quasi-objects [which are also quasi-subjects] are multiplying to such an extent that it appears impossible to find a single one that more or less resembles a free speaking subject or a reified natural object" (*We* 60). In fact the notion of the modern as marking a radical break in time, the transition to which establishes various sets of "victors and vanquished" (*We* 10), is propped up by an ability

to keep entirely separate two active processes: on the one hand, the classification and purification of human from nonhuman, and, on the other hand, constant hybridization among them. Once both can be paid attention, Latour argues "we immediately stop being wholly modern, and our future begins to change" (*We* 11). Although Latour is not especially interested in issues of sense perception, presumably a world of hybridization *sounds* differently than would a construct in which "technological reason has to be kept as remote as possible from the free discussion of human beings" (*We* 61).[6] I propose that such hybridized vocality is what Woolf, in her explicit turn to the external, grapples with in her portrayal of a "quite different level" of chorus.

III

In the changing aural ecologies of modernity, human voice becomes less human. By the late 1930s modern machines had in many ways changed how the human voice is perceived. Mediated by technologies that transmit, record, and reproduce sound—such as the telephone, radio, gramophone, and tape recorder—human voice becomes an entity distanced, even separated, from its corporeal source.[7] Woolf invokes this obscured link between voice and body throughout *Between*. Early on, human voice projects from what appears to the toddler George to be a distinctly nonhuman figure, but is in actuality the older Mr. Oliver masking himself behind an elaborately folded piece of paper in order to play a joke on his young grandson. George sees a "terrible peaked eyeless monster" approach, and then "'Good morning sir,' a hollow voice boomed at him from a beak of paper" (9). In another instance, voices, in place of characters, move into a previously empty hallway:

> Across the hall a door opened. One voice, another voice, a third voice came wimpling and warbling: gruff—Bart's voice; quavering—Lucy's voice; middle-toned—Isa's voice. Their voices impetuously, impatiently, protestingly came across the hall, saying "The train's late"; saying: "Keep it hot"; saying "We won't, no, Candish, we won't wait." (26)

By the time the pageant begins, about one-third of the way into the novel, we have grown used to human voice as acousmatic, a term that designates "a voice whose source one cannot see, a voice whose origin cannot be identified, a voice one cannot place" (Dolar 60). Acousmatic voice registers as distinctly human and yet floats free of any specific subject, thereby disrupting the seemingly natural link between speaker and speech. During the pageant, this displacement of voice from body becomes even more pronounced. Quoted commentary by audience members often floats free of named attribution, as in this instance, in which Miss La Trobe listens behind a tree (where she is purposely hidden from the audience): "'All that fuss about nothing!' a voice exclaimed. People laughed. But the voice had seen the voice had heard" (95). The wind continually blows the performers' words away, making them inaudible to the audience; recorded singing voices play loudly on the gramophone; the voice of a hidden, "anonymous" narrator at times booms through a megaphone ("a voice asserted itself," "[w]hose voice it was no one knew" [127]).

At the same time, nonhumans begin to function like vocal participants. The gramophone, birds, cows, rain, and airplanes zooming overhead are nonhuman actors actively influencing in an affective and sometimes linguistic sense the communal forms

that take shape over the course of the afternoon. As the pageant begins, a gramophone is set in motion but does not play for what seems to be several minutes. It, however, makes sounds: the "chuff, chuff, chuff" and "tick, tick, tick" of the machine hold the audience's attention, especially at points when the stage is momentarily empty. After one group of performers "scampered away into the bushes" (56) but before the next emerges, "Chuff, chuff, chuff went the machine. Could they [the audience] talk? Could they move? No, for the play was going on. Yet the stage was empty; only the cows moved in the meadows; only the tick of the gramophone was heard. The tick, tick, tick seemed to hold them together, tranced" (57). The machine's sounds continue throughout the pageant, its interjections distinct from the oftentimes vocal music that it plays from records. *How* the gramophone plays recorded songs also is imbued with a sense of intentionality. For instance, at one point when the performers are having trouble projecting through the wind, "Chuff, chuff, chuff, the machine ticked. Then at last the machine ground out a tune!" (54), keeping the audience engaged. While the pageant breaks for a half-hour interval, the gramophone chants, moans, laments, and wails a continued refrain throughout: "*Dispersed are we*" (66ff).

Cuddy-Keane notes "the astonishing variety of . . . active verbs" ascribed to the gramophone and observes that, "like the other players," the gramophone "is an active participant in the pageant" ("Virginia Woolf" 75). For her, though, the distinction between "listening to the gramophone as an intermediary for music and listening to the sounds of the gramophone as the music itself" boils down only to how the gramophone diffuses sound so that it can be heard from a variety of different locations, presumably

received differently at each, thus making it impossible to read the gramophone's presence in the novel as representing "the tyranny of a hegemonic voice" ("Virginia Woolf" 75). While this is an important point, it does not fully account for the immense attention Woolf pays to the gramophone's non-musical operating sounds, its "chuff, chuff, chuff" and "tick, tick, tick." Such sounds, especially when heard in place of music that should be playing, can be understood in terms of what Latour calls "accidents, breakdowns, and strikes" by objects—one of the ways in which otherwise silent objects "*talk*, . . . offer descriptions of themselves, . . . produce *scripts* of what they are making others—humans or non-humans—do" (*Reassembling* 80 and 79; italics in the original). In this case, the gramophone does not work entirely as it should: it does not dependably start playing records as directed, nor does it transmit the music selected by Miss La Trobe seamlessly, unmarked by the traces of mechanical mediation. We are told that "Chuff, chuff, chuff sounded from the bushes. It was the noise a machine makes when something has gone wrong" (53). The persistence of such machine sounds reminds us throughout the pageant of the gramophone's status as an object at work within a collective.

The "*dispersed are we*" interjections—attributed both to the music ("*Dispersed are we*, the music wailed; *dispersed are we*" [67]) and to the gramophone ("To the valediction of the gramophone hid in the bushes the audience departed. *Dispersed*, it wailed, *Dispersed are we*" [68])—represent something different from either the machine sounds or lines from songs played on the gramophone. The words would seem to be from a song's refrain, because of how individual characters take up the tune:

> Mrs. Manresa took up the strain. *Dispersed are we*. "Freely, boldly, fearing no one" (she pushed a deck chair out of her way). "Youths and maidens" (she glanced behind her; but Giles had his back turned). "Follow, follow, follow me. . . . Oh Mr. Parker, what a pleasure to see you here! I'm for tea!"
>
> "Dispersed are we," Isabella followed her, humming. (66-67)

Further characters, too, join in the collective affect and echo identical words. William Dodge, for instance, murmurs, "Shall I . . . go or stay? Slip out some other way? Or follow, follow, follow the dispersing company?" (67). But the provenance of "dispersed are we" is unclear. A traditional English round called "Come Follow" includes the words "follow, follow, follow me" but not "dispersed are we." The reader is left strategically disoriented, unable to secure either within or beyond the novel a point of origin for the words that have been uttered.

The only character to voice in quotation marks the latter phrase is Isa, a secret poet who tries to fit words to actions and affects. Understanding Isa's and *Between*'s use of the phrase "*Dispersed are we*" requires us to look back earlier in the novel to the role acoustics play in how Isa conceives of interpersonal connections. The following describes her erotically charged response to Mr. Haines, the gentleman farmer, with whom she has only had polite chit-chat:

> "In love," she must be; since the presence of his body in the room last night could so affect her; since the words he said, handing her a teacup, handing her a tennis racquet, could so attach themselves to a certain spot

> in her; and thus lie between them like a wire, tingling, tangling, vibrating—she groped, in the depths of the looking-glass, for a word to fit the infinitely quick vibrations of the aeroplane propeller that she had seen once at dawn at Croydon. (11)

Here it is not the exact words spoken by Mr. Haines to Isa that link them by something "like a wire, tingling, tangling, vibrating" but rather the sound of his voice, present in the room. Isa compares her affective engagement with the acoustic experience not only to technologies of vocal transmission ("like a wire . . . vibrating") but also to the sound of an airplane in action. This latter sound describes her experience but she struggles with finding a word to "fit" it—a machine sound expresses for Isa what words cannot. Isa's articulation of "*Dispersed are we*," I suggest, shows her managing to "fit" words not only to the extralinguistic sounds of machines but also to the effects of them within a collective. "*Dispersed are we*," in other words, is a translation of nonhuman sounds into language. This translation is extended at points, too, in order to grasp at more complicated movements: "The gramophone was affirming . . . *Dispersed are we; who have come together. But*, the gramophone asserted, *let us retain whatever made that harmony*" (133). This is echoed in the gramophone's final contributions at the end of the pageant: "The gramophone gurgled *Unity—Dispersity*. It gurgled *Un . . dis* . . . And ceased" (136).

As the Reverend Streatfield sums up fuzzily after the pageant's conclusion, "nature takes her part" (130), too. Reconvening after the pageant's interval (which was accompanied by the first appearances in the text of "*Dispersed are we*"), the audience

hears birds in the trees that seem to be calling attention back to the pageant: "[T]he trees with their many-tongued much syllabling, their green and yellow leaves hustle us and shuffle us, and bid us, like the starlings, and the rooks, come together, crowd together, to chatter and make merry while the red cow moves forward and the black cow stands still" (83). This harkens back to the birdsong of Anon's origin story. In *Between,* fully modern characters nonetheless inhabit a social world in which human apprehension attends to, and occasionally attempts to translate from, nonhuman registers. These translations are not impartial or disinterested. For instance, as Mrs. Swithin and William Dodge converse indoors before the pageant-play, they hear approaching motor cars: "The purring of the wheels became vocal. 'Hurry, hurry, hurry,' it seemed to say, 'or you'll be late. Hurry, hurry, hurry, or the best seat'll be taken'" (51). Even earlier, in a description of an empty library, we read that "the tortoiseshell butterfly beat on the lower pane of the window; beat, beat, beat; repeating that if no human being ever came, never, never, never, the books would be mouldy, the fire out and the tortoiseshell butterfly dead on the pane" (12).

Perhaps the most concentrated scene of nonhuman voice is when the cows, in an almost cartoonish manner, fill an awkward, extended silence during the pageant by bellowing all together as if on cue. At one of the many points when the wind makes it impossible for the audience to hear the actors and Miss La Trobe frets about the performative illusion being lost, cows take up the dramatic lag:

> The words died away. Only a few great names—Babylon, Nineveh, Clytemnestra, Agamemnon, Troy—floated across the open space. Then

> the wind rose, and in the rustle of the leaves even the great words became inaudible; and the audience sat staring at the villagers, whose mouths opened, but no sound came.
>
> And the stage was empty. Miss La Trobe leant against the tree, paralyzed. Her power had left her. Beads of perspiration broke on her forehead. Illusion had failed. "This is death," she murmured, "death."
>
> Then suddenly, as the illusion petered out, the cows took up the burden. One had lost her calf. In the very nick of time she lifted her great moon-eyed head and bellowed. All the great moon-eyed heads laid themselves back. From cow after cow came the same yearning bellow. The whole world was filled with dumb yearning. It was the primeval voice sounding loud in the ear of the present moment. Then the whole herd caught the infection. Lashing their tails, blobbed like pokers, they tossed their heads high, plunged and bellowed, as if Eros had planted his dart in their flanks and goaded them to fury. The cows annihilated the gap; bridged the distance; filled the emptiness and continued the emotion. (96)

Like the gramophone and the birds, the cows become actors through what is presented as vocal participation. But Woolf represents the sonic presence of the gramophone and the birds as a vocality that borders on the linguistic (and, in the case of "*Dispersed are we*," has been translated into the linguistic), whereas the cows only express "dumb yearning." The contrast between "great words" that the audience cannot hear and the bellowing herd of cows expressing loss with "a primeval voice sounding loud in the ear of the present

moment" brings to mind the distinction Aristotle makes in *Politics* between "mere voice" as "an indication of pleasure or pain," found in both animals and humans, and human speech in which can be expressed a "sense of good and evil, of just and unjust" (1253a7-18). In such a separation between *phone* and *logos*, Mladen Dolar argues, "the meaningful voice . . . relegates the mere voice to prehistory" (105).

Dolar calls this separation into question, by comparing the structural relationship between *phone* and *logos* to what Agamben argues about *zoe* (bare life) and *bios* (communal, political life). Similarly to how *zoe*, "supposedly exterior to the political," is not "simply presocial, the animality, the outside of the social" but "persists, in its very exclusion/inclusion, at the heart of the social," mere voice

> is not simply an element external to speech, but persists at its core, making it possible and constantly haunting it by the impossibility of symbolizing it. And even more: the voice is not some remnant of a previous precultural state, or of some happy primordial fusion where we were not yet plagued by language and its calamities; rather, it is the product of *logos* itself, sustaining and troubling it at the same time. (107)

The cows, of course, will never be "plagued by language and its calamities," and, therefore, would seem to be a way to realize mere voice free from a relationship to *logos*. But within the social performance of the pageant, the cows' bellows are placed in structuring opposition to the "great words" that do not reach the audience in audible form. It is only in relation to *logos* that the audience interprets the cows' vocality as "dumb" and "primeval," *phone* at its most pure.

Woolf plays with the relationship between *phone* and *logos* in a sequence of related moments that juxtapose musical notes, alphabetical letters, and the fully formed sentences of a nursery rhyme. This sequence experiments with the way that letters printed on the page can impart to the reader sounds ranging from phonemes to music. The first two moments in this sequence occur during the pageant's interval, between the acts, as someone, "Mrs La Trobe or whoever it was," practices scales (it is uncertain whether on a musical instrument or vocally). In the first,

> They [Isa Oliver and William Dodge, who wander off and talk together during the interval] had left the greenhouse door open, and now music came through it. A.B.C., A.B.C., A.B.C.—someone was practising scales. C.A.T. C.A.T. C.A.T. . . . Then the separate letters made one word "Cat." Other words followed. It was a simple tune, like a nursery rhyme—
>
> The King is in his counting house
>
> Counting out his money,
>
> The Queen is in her parlour
>
> Eating bread and honey.
>
> They listened. Another voice, a third voice, was saying something simple. And they sat on in the greenhouse, on the plank with the vine over them, listening . . . (79)

The context dictates that "A.B.C." refers here not just to the first letters of the alphabet but also to musical notes; the musically literate reader may translate these letters into sounds. "C.A.T.," however, forces the reader to adjust once more, as "T" is not a musical

note; after the ellipses we are returned to the verbal register of letters signifying phonemes that make up words. The reader has been prepared to pay heed to the musical and linguistic qualities of the nursery rhyme that follows. But the word "cat" does not appear in the text of this nursery rhyme; the lyrics, then, seem to be provided as an example of a nursery rhyme that is "like" a simple tune without being identical to it. What is human sound and what is not, and what is heard versus what is printed, remain surprisingly difficult to apprehend despite the simplicity of both the musical notes and the language on the page.

On the next page, Mrs. Swithin and her brother the elder Mr. Oliver also overhear the practicing of scales in a scene that is very similarly structured:

> From the garden—the window was open—came the sound of someone practicing scales. A.B.C. A.B.C. A.B.C. Then the separate letters formed one word "Dog." Then a phrase. It was a simple tune, another voice speaking.
>
> "Hark, hark, the dogs do bark,
>
> The beggars are coming to town . . ."
>
> Then it languished and lengthened, and became a waltz. As they listened and looked—out into the garden—the trees tossing and the birds swirling seemed called out of their private lives, out of their separate avocations, and made to take part. (80-81)

This scene elides the impossible moment of transition from musical notes to single letters (represented as "C.A.T." in the earlier scene); it also removes the ambiguity of how the

single word, in this case "dog," connects to the tune that follows, as the word "dog" appears in the lyrics that are now within quotation marks. This has the effect of sharpening the distinction between the musical notes "A.B.C." and words, as well as between human and nonhuman: once we reach the word "dog," we are within a fully linguistic realm, and it is only when the musical waltz begins that the trees and birds are "called out of their private lives . . . and made to take part." Both scenes convey a desire to make more fluid the boundary between *logos* and *phone* and to trace *logos* starting to take shape at a level that engages *phone*, but they manage mostly to reveal the difficulties of such a venture. In the third iteration, when Miss La Trobe signals for music during the pageant, the gramophone starts up—"And the gramophone began A.B.C., A.B.C."—followed immediately by the lyrical tune referenced in the first instance, now italicized (but not in quotation marks): "*The King is in his counting house* . . ." (84). The complicated attempts to integrate musical notes and lyrics into the same system of signification are no longer necessary. This calls attention to how modern sound technologies blur distinctions between *phone* and *logos*, as everything aural—sounds, mere voice, human speech—is recorded and transmitted as sound waves.

In the fourth and final installment of the interspersed sequence, occurring toward the end of the pageant, a brief rain shower alters the resonance for the audience of the same gramophone tune. During ten minutes of the pageant's portrayal of "present time," Miss La Trobe "had forbidden music" (122), but like the previous silence that the cows eventually fill, in practice the lull of real time causes the director to feel as though the performance is losing the audience (echoing her earlier panic, she thinks, "This is death,

death, death" [122]). But "nature once more . . . take[s] her part" (123), and a "shower fell, sudden, profuse. . . . Down it fell like all the people in the world weeping. Tears. Tears. Tears" (122). The triple repetition of "tears" associates the rain shower's acoustics with the "chuff, chuff, chuff" and "tick, tick, tick" of the gramophone. After the rain shower concludes, it is time for the gramophone music to begin again:

> Music began—A.B.C.—A.B.C. The tune was as simple as could be. But now that the shower had fallen, it was the other voice speaking, the voice that was no one's voice. And the voice that wept for human pain unending said:
>
> *The King is in his counting house*
>
> *Counting out his money,*
>
> *The Queen is in her parlour . . .*
>
> "O that my life could here have ending," Isa murmured (taking care not to move her lips). Readily would she endow this voice with all her treasure if so be tears could be ended. The little twist of sound could have the whole of her. (123)

Although here Woolf indicates only that "music began," the italicization of the nursery rhyme clarifies that we are again hearing music played on the gramophone. The mediation of sound technology and the action of the weather hybridize the voice singing the English nursery rhyme "Sing a Song of Sixpence" into "the other voice speaking, the voice that was no one's voice." Like the voice of Anon, this social voice can "follow the

pace of the speaking voice" and "enter into the private world" ("Anon" 389), as shown by Isa's internal response.

The effect on Isa of a simple children's tune played out of doors after a rain shower is at the same time a little alarming and might be read in relation to Michele Pridmore-Brown's argument about how Woolf in this novel "uses a gramophone to demonstrate how patriotic messages, inscribed on bodies through rhythm and rhyme, can transform individuals into a herd that can be controlled by a charismatic leader" (408). Pridmore-Brown sees Woolf as undermining "fascism's emphasis on acoustic communion" (411) through, first, "unintended noise" in "channel[s] of communication" that make possible "particularized (noncollective) listening" (412) and, second, an individualizing "optical register," provided by the mirrors that La Trobe has the pageant-players turn upon the audience as part of "present time" (416). As I have argued, however, these "unintended" noises—outlined by Pridmore-Brown as "static," "environmental noise," and so forth—can be attributed to nonhuman actors, and acknowledgement of their participation does not so much bolster human individualism as prompt notice of the exclusions upon which such a concept is based. Woolf's political values manifest themselves at the most elemental level of *Between*'s aesthetic exploration. Incorporating nonhuman sounds into a social voice creates a dispersed formed of unity that does not lapse into fascist conformity.

The aurality of the pageant calls attention to the collective's constituents in a way that visuality does not. For instance, when mirrors are turned upon the audience members, they see only themselves or aspects of their individual appearances: "Now old

Bart . . . he was caught. Now Manresa. here a nose . . . There a skirt . . . Then trousers only . . . Now perhaps a face. . . . Ourselves? But that's cruel. To snap us as we are, before we've had time to assume . . . And only, too, in parts" (125). The audience does not see reflected in the mirrors those animals or machines with whom they share space. However, even as the audience members continue to look at themselves and their neighbors in the mirrors, they hear "the jangle and the din! The very cows joined in. Walloping, tail lashing, the reticence of nature was undone, and the barriers which should divide Man the Master from the Brute were dissolved. Then the dogs joined in" (125). The audience hears, too, "a megaphonic, anonymous, loud-speaking" voice from the bushes, saying such things as

> *let's talk in words of one syllable, without larding, stuffing or cant. Let's break the rhythm and forget the rhyme. And calmly consider ourselves. . . . Consider the sheep. Or faith in love. Consider the dogs. Or virtue in those that have grown white hair. Consider the gun slayers, bomb droppers here or there. They do openly what we do slyly. . . . Look at ourselves, ladies and gentlemen! Then at the wall; and ask how's this wall, the great wall, which we call, perhaps miscall, civilization, to be built by* (here the mirrors flicked and flashed) *orts, scraps and fragments like ourselves?* (127-28)

After the megaphonic narration, the pageant concludes with a tune played on the gramophone, described only by its effects on the audience writ large: "Compelled from the ends of the horizon; recalled from the edge of appalling crevasses; they crashed;

solved; united. . . . Was that voice ourselves? Scraps, orts, and fragments, are we, also, that? The voice died away" (128). The acoustic offers a spontaneity of apprehension that contrasts with the fragmenting effect of the visual.

After the pageant has concluded, the Reverend Streatfield provides a summation of the pageant as illustrating a transcendental or spiritual unity, with "a spirit that inspires, pervades" (130), quite different from the Latourian collective that I argue Woolf traces. While talking, he is interrupted mid-word by a "zoom" of "[t]welve aeroplanes in perfect formation like a flight of wild ducks" (131). Later, as the audience disperses, "someone was saying . . . 'Also, why leave out the Army, as my husband was saying, if it's history? And if one spirit animates the whole, what about the aeroplanes?'" (134). The aeroplanes, associated as they are with the approaching war (Woolf in her diaries of the time often writes about the experience of war planes flying overhead) remind the reader of the pressing importance of recognizing and tracing the networks among human and nonhuman, not in order to achieve a state of unity but to better understand how the social is assembled so that reassembly might be possible. As Latour questions, "How could we be victims of a total technological system, when machines are made of subjects and never succeed in settling into more or less stable systems?" (*We* 115). Woolf resists a totalizing view of technology even in regard to aeroplanes at the dawn of war, as shown in snippets of conversation by other unidentified "someone"s after the pageant's end: "The Brookes have gone to Italy, in spite of everything. Rather rash? . . . If the worst should come—let's hope it won't—they'd hire an aeroplane, so they said" and "At Larting no one goes to church . . . There's the dogs, there's the pictures. . . . It's odd that

science, so they tell me, is making things (so to speak) more spiritual . . . The very latest notion, so I'm told is, nothing's solid" (134-35; all ellipses in the original).

Woolf seems to want to distinguish what she is after in *Between* from any kind of "one-making," whether anthropocentric or mystical, as evidenced by the description of Mrs. Swithin as she "caressed her cross" and "gazed vaguely at the view": "She was off, they guessed, on a circular tour of the imagination—one-making. Sheep, cows, grass, trees, ourselves—all are one. If discordant, producing harmony—if not to us, to a gigantic ear attached to a gigantic head" (119). This inelegant notion is, notably, what Mrs. Swithin's family "guessed" she imagines; Woolf keeps the actual particularities of Mrs. Swithin's thoughts obscured here. Nevertheless, the homogenizing notion of aurality, in which a unity exists that only a god-like figure might perceive, contrasts with how Miss La Trobe thinks about her aims for the pageant. Responding to Mrs. Swithin expressing how the pageant has affected her ("'you've made me feel I could play Cleopatra!'"), Miss La Trobe thinks (about herself), "Ah, but she was not merely a twitcher of individual strings; she was one who seethes wandering bodies and floating voices in a cauldron, and makes rise up from its amorphous mass a re-created world" (105). The vocality of the pageant bespeaks social formation not as a vague togetherness but as a specific, complex assemblage. In her portrayal of the pageant as a collective, Woolf thinks through an alternative approach to modernity.

IV

Woolf is attentive to vocalization and collective engagement, but for her language is at the heart of such questions. A persistent concern throughout her writing is how

words are lacking—we don't have the right ones to fit our thoughts and our emotions, we oftentimes find more meaning in extralinguistic perceptions of speech than in the words themselves, and so forth. Prior to the pageant, Mrs. Swithin protests, "We haven't the words—we haven't the words. . . . Behind the eyes; not on the lips; that's all." Her brother the elder Mr. Oliver responds, "Thoughts without words. . . . Can that be?" (38). Rather than "thoughts without words," *Between* suggests how our words might become more expressive through engagement with nonhuman vocality. Social hybridity of the human and the nonhuman, in other words, can make possible similar hybridity at the level of words.

In *Between*, the insistent return to the notion of "words of one syllable" gestures toward how we might read language as starting to take shape at a level that engages *phone*, tones, machine sounds, and animal vocality. Nonhuman voice can be seen to play a role in linguistic formation. The importance of vocal syllabling to Woolf's creative process is noted in "A Sketch of the Past," when she writes about how she "made up" *To the Lighthouse* "in a great, apparently involuntary rush": "One thing burst into another. . . . my lips seemed syllabling of their own accord as I walked. What blew the bubbles? Why then? I have no notion" (81). At the end of *Between*, literary creation begins again for Miss La Trobe at the syllabic level. Feeling her pageant to be a failure, she puts away her records before the trek home,

> Then suddenly the starlings attacked the tree behind which she had hidden. In one flock they pelted it like so many winged stones. The whole tree hummed with the whizz they made, as if each bird plucked a wire. A

> whizz, a buzz rose from the bird-buzzing, bird-vibrant, bird-blackened tree. The tree became a rhapsody, a quivering cacaphony, a whizz and vibrant rapture, branches, leaves, birds syllabling discordantly life, life, life, without measure, without measure, without stopping devouring the tree. (142)

Like the prehistoric hunter in "Anon" who is moved to vocal poetry by birds singing, Miss La Trobe starts to think about her next play: "What would the words be? The words escaped her" (143). As she sits in the pub, however, listening to "voices talking," "words of one syllable sank down into the mud. . . . The mud became fertile. Words rose about the intolerably laden dumb oxen plodding through the mud. Words without meaning—wonderful words" (144).

While Woolf distances vocality from purely human representation and applies the term "voice" to the utterings of humans and nonhumans, the term nevertheless retains the power to categorically divide them, as we see in the above with words rising about "the intolerably laden dumb oxen." Even as Woolf, like Miss La Trobe, sets the stage for the performance and recognition of a new kind of sociality, the novel also registers her ambivalence. This could be partly a function of the transiency of performativity and voice. But there is, too, a kind of purification impulse that the novel retains, to keep speaking subjects and nonhumans "incommensurable," to call curtain on too divergent a notion of the social. In the novel's last lines, after the crowd has dispersed and the Oliver family has returned indoors for nightfall, we read, "Then the curtain rose. They spoke" (149). Nevertheless, listening to nonhuman voice in Woolf's *Between the Acts* offers a

new consideration of the way modernism grapples with the aesthetic and affective ties among human subjects, physical objects, and an environment altered radically by technology and war.

Notes
Chapter 3

[1] Jed Esty discusses this letter in *A Shrinking Island* (86).

[2] For choral, see Cuddy-Keane, "The Politics of Comic Modes"; Esty, *A Shrinking Island*; and Patricia Laurence, "The Facts and Fugue of War." For Anon, see Esty; Nora Eisenberg, "Virginia Woolf's Last Words on Words"; and Brenda Silver, introductions to "'Anon' and 'The Reader': Virginia Woolf's Last Essays." For dictatorial unification, see Michele Pridmore-Brown, "1939-40: Of Virginia Woolf, Gramophones, and Fascism."

[3] Bennett quotes from Murray in *Vibrant Matter* in an endnote on page 150.

[4] Laurence quotes from Woolf, "Introduction to Laurence Sterne" (x).

[5] Silver notes that for the second item, Woolf had earlier written "The audience," but replaced it with "The ear and the eye" (376).

[6] Latour, however, does compare sense perception to how the social is "traceable only when it's being modified": "If you clasp someone's hand and keep the grasp perfectly still, very soon you no longer feel anything but a vague, embarrassing dullness—even if it's the hand of the beloved. With the absence of movements has come a blurring of the senses. The same is true of the 'sense of the social': no new association, no way to feel the grasp" (*Reassembling* 159).

[7] It is worth noting that the first machine to synthetically produce the human voice, called the Voder or Voice Operating DEmonstratoR, was unveiled at the NY World's Fair in 1939.

Coda:

Voice, Technology, and the Posthuman

Revisiting Virginia Woolf's *Three Guineas* (1938) with an ear to voice reveals an underlying but persistent concern that modern technology would produce a generic, homogeneous voice. Pondering the question, "How can we prevent war?" Woolf responds,

> If we encourage the daughters to enter the professions without making any conditions as to the way in which the professions are to be practiced shall we not be doing our best to stereotype the old tune which human nature, like a gramophone whose needle has stuck, is now grinding out with such disastrous unanimity? "Here we go round the mulberry tree, the mulberry tree, the mulberry tree. Give it all to me, give it all to me, all to me. Three hundred million spent upon war." (59)

The repetition of "mulberry tree" and "give it all to me" connects the mechanics of vocalized poetry and song to mechanism more broadly: lyrics that compulsorily repeat signal a "gramophone whose needle has stuck" and thus replays the same recorded segments over and over. Vocal articulations become fixed in predictable resonance. "Human nature" sounds only like "disastrous unanimity," made even more foreboding by the blunt, singsong rhyme. The gramophone for Woolf here is, of course, primarily a trope for how patriarchal forms of thought continue to persist prominently in forms of public discourse. Similarly she writes about hearing on the wireless of the daily press a barrage of proclamations: "'There are two worlds, one for women, the other for men . . .

Let them learn to cook our dinners. . . Women have failed. . .'" Such conditions are captured by the way "the clamour, the uproar that infantile fixation is making is such that we can hardly hear ourselves speak; it takes all the words out of our mouths; it makes us say what we have not said" (140-41). Woolf points to how the broadcast views about women are age-old, as are their social effects of silencing opposing voices: she instructs her readers "to listen" as she imagines at length the speech of Creon in response to Antigone, and concludes that "[p]ictures and voices are the same today as they were 2,000 years ago" (141).

Woolf's apprehension about modern technologies of voice in *Three Guineas* seems to be that the technologies simply will continue and amplify existent structures of power and thought. She returns to the simile of the rutted gramophone fifty pages later, as she explains why she, as a woman, will work "outside . . . not within" (106) her male correspondent's anti-war society, despite her strong pacifism: "For by so doing ['fill(ing) up your form and join(ing) your society'] we should merge our identity in yours; follow and repeat and score still deeper the old worn ruts in which society, like a gramophone whose needle has stuck, is grinding out with intolerable unanimity 'Three hundred millions spent upon arms'" (105). Voice, in these figurations of the gramophone, projects no uniqueness or distinction. Woolf does not write *how* the "old tune" sounds on the gramophone: the lines "mulberry tree" and "give it all to me" convey the idea of song structure (repetition, the act of articulation privileged over linguistic meaning, obvious rhyme, etc.) without giving a sense of vocal or sonic texture. What Woolf finds to be ominously rote is not necessarily forms of vocal repetition (in song structure, in the

workings of modern technologies of voice) in and of themselves. Rather, this repetition points to wider considerations of whose voices speak most prominently and how what they say, en masse, rules out the participation of other voices.

Three Guineas expresses a longing for "a different song and a different conclusion" (59), but this desire could only take more concrete shape a few years later, in *Between the Acts*. Woolf accomplishes this in *Between* through attention to the workings of audible voice itself. Woolf's approach to voice in *Between*, as I have described it, accords in striking ways with Adriana Cavarero's recent argument for the ontological and political importance of recognizing embodied voice as unique and relational. Woolf refigures what it means to be a subject within a collective through the act of hearing individual voices and tracing their relational webs. It is through this work that she manages to revise how "human nature" might be figured, how a reconstituted sociality might *sound* differently.

It is not enough, Cavarero suggests, to acknowledge with Roland Barthes that there is "no language without a body" (Barthes 5). Barthes, in reflecting on what he calls "the grain of the voice," nevertheless keeps body and voice as "general categories . . . of a depersonalized pleasure" (Cavarero 15). The multitude of voices speaking from individual bodies does not enter into Barthes's theorization of vocality. Cavarero, on the other hand, insists at length on refiguring philosophical and political tenets in modernity by attending to voice's uniqueness and relationality. She writes,

> It is not surprising that the "subject," in its classic Cartesian clothes, has no voice and speaks only to itself through the mute voice of consciousness.

> This metaphorical voice of the soul or of consciousness, so dear to philosophy, is a crucial rhetorical figure through which the voice—through its identification with the silent work of thought—gets transformed into a negation of the voice. . . . Unlike thinking, speaking does not allow its protagonist to be an abstract subject; instead, it implies that the speakers are human beings in flesh and bone, with mouths and ears. (175)

This "abstract subject" whose "thought" becomes "a negation of voice" might be what Woolf tries to render in her figure of the gramophone playing an "old tune" in *Three Guineas*. Woolf betrays nothing about how such a gramophone would sound: its messages project as "clamour" and "uproar" but transmit nothing distinctive. In contrast, the gramophone in *Between*, is heard to be more unique and relational, not so much in terms of the records it plays but in *how* it plays them and interjects its own "tick, tick, ticks" and "chuff, chuff, chuffs" at opportune affective moments.

Technologies of voice do not figure significantly in Cavarero's project. In fact, her work insists on a dichotomy of human and nonhuman. Subjects for Cavarero can only escape abstraction as "human beings in flesh and bone, with mouths and ears" (175). Woolf's *Between*, then, prompts us to consider if and how we might attend to posthuman forms of voice in ethical and politically optimistic ways. I am thinking about posthuman forms of voice quite capaciously—my only definitional guidance for the examples that follow are they represent striking ways in which voice has been technologically mediated *or* figured by contemporary technologies. With the caveat that nothing among these

examples is necessarily self-same, I nevertheless pose the question of what it would mean to approach voice in the following instances as unique and relational: Vocalizations in a YouTube meme that has been profoundly decontextualized and relayed endlessly and globally on computer screens, smart phones, and the like? Skype communications wherein all parties attempt to recreate as much as possible the structure of an in-person meeting but nevertheless cannot dispense with the nagging sense that the encounter happened in a nowhere space in which uniqueness and relationality cannot adequately be registered? The vocal responsiveness of iPhone's Siri program? Automated, mechanized voices intended to structure public safety, such as those employed in fire alarms and street crosswalk signals?

The challenge to rethink voice—conceptually and phenomenologically—has been handed down to us by twentieth-century writers and artists grappling with the productive and destructive forces of technological transformation. Now, in the twenty-first century, we may finally be in a position to analyze more clearly the political significance of modernism's experiments with the voice. Woolf counsels her readers in *Three Guineas* to listen to the soundscape of the modern present as initial step toward a society in which war might be prevented: while it is "tempt[ing] . . . to listen not to the bark of the guns and the bray of the gramophones but to the voices of the poets, answering each other, assuring us of a unity that rubs out divisions as if they were chalk marks only . . . that would be to dream . . . You have not asked us what peace is; you have asked us how to prevent war" (143). It is arguably as politically important in our time as in Woolf's to listen carefully to the constitution of our social chorus.

An extended examination of technology and voice in our contemporary moment is beyond the scope of my argument. However, as a way of concluding, I want to reflect briefly upon a scenario in which human vocality and mechanistic voice meet in suggestive ways. One concern, when working on the idea of posthuman voice, is when and how we should be ethically compelled to engage with technologized voice that is programmed for automation. It kind of sounds like voice, but what does this mean for how we should encounter it? Cavarero's central approach to voice, I argue, can be extended usefully to studies of posthuman voice. Cavarero writes that "the act of speaking is relational: what it communicates first and foremost, beyond the specific content that the words communicate, is the acoustic, empirical, material relationality of singular voices" (13). The categories of the singular and the relational can help us to sort through how we might listen, for instance, to automated voices mechanized to sound vaguely human.

While the more popular example to study might be iPhone's Siri, I turn instead to the lessons of an encounter I observed in Charlottesville a few years ago. At a crosswalk on Main Street downtown, a woman and a young girl in her care wait to walk. There are no cars to be seen for blocks in either direction, but an automated voice rings out, repeatedly and portentously, "Wait. Do not walk." After a few moments, the woman decides to walk anyway, takes the girl's hand, and guides her across. The vocal proclamation to "Wait. Do not walk." repeats at least twice as the pair crosses the street. The girl initially attends to the voice with alert trepidation, but shifts, in a moment of realization, to exclaim aloud, gleefully, "It can't *see* us!" While certainly we aren't meant

to attend to the vocal quality of an automated voice at a crosswalk but rather only to register its cues of data, there is an affective resonance even for adults (at least during sweltering carless summers in Charlottesville) to being instructed repeatedly in human-like tones to "wait" and "not walk." On desolate streets, the automated crosswalk voice can seem to mimic the hail of an Althusserian interpellation, but the girl's ludic response signals how acoustic interpellation—even via a machine—enters into an elastic set of social relations. The girl in this scenario had not yet been conditioned to how to listen to the crosswalk voice: she accorded to the machine voice at first the possibility that it was responding relationally to the specific situation (that it might be registering the presence of the woman and the girl and noting when they disobeyed its orders to "not walk"). But she quickly and delightedly, through attention to, in Cavarero's words, "acoustic, empirical, and material relationality" assessed that the voice simply provided an aural traffic cue. There was no need to pay it any more heed than that.

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